

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

PROPHECIES

OF

DANIEL,

AND THE

APOCALYPSE

OF

St. JOHN.

IN TWO PARTS.

By Sir ISAAC NEWTON.

LONDON,

Printed by J. DARBY and T. BROWNE in *Bartholomew-Close*.

And Sold by J. ROBERTS in *Warwick-lane*, J. TONSON in the *Strand*, W. INNYS and R. MANBY at the West End of *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, J. OSBORN and T. LONGMAN in *Pater-Noster-Row*, J. NOON near *Mercers Chapel* in *Cheapside*, T. HATCHETT at the *Royal Exchange*, S. HARDING in *St. Martin's lane*, J. STAGG in *Westminster-Hall*, J. PARKER in *Pall-mall*, and J. BRINDLEY in *New Bond-street*.

M,DCC,XXXIII.



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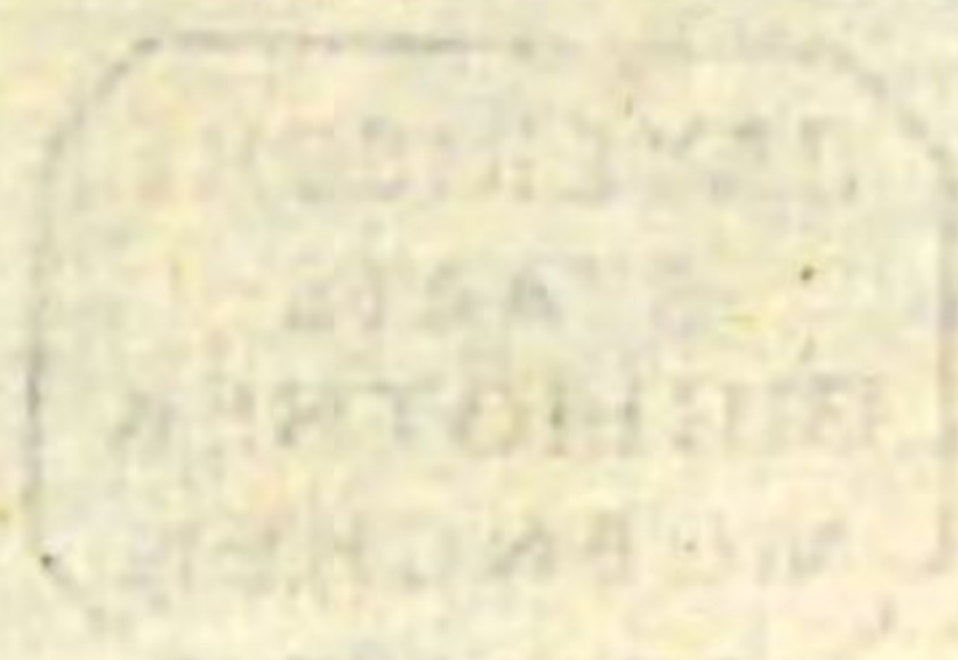
St. JOHN

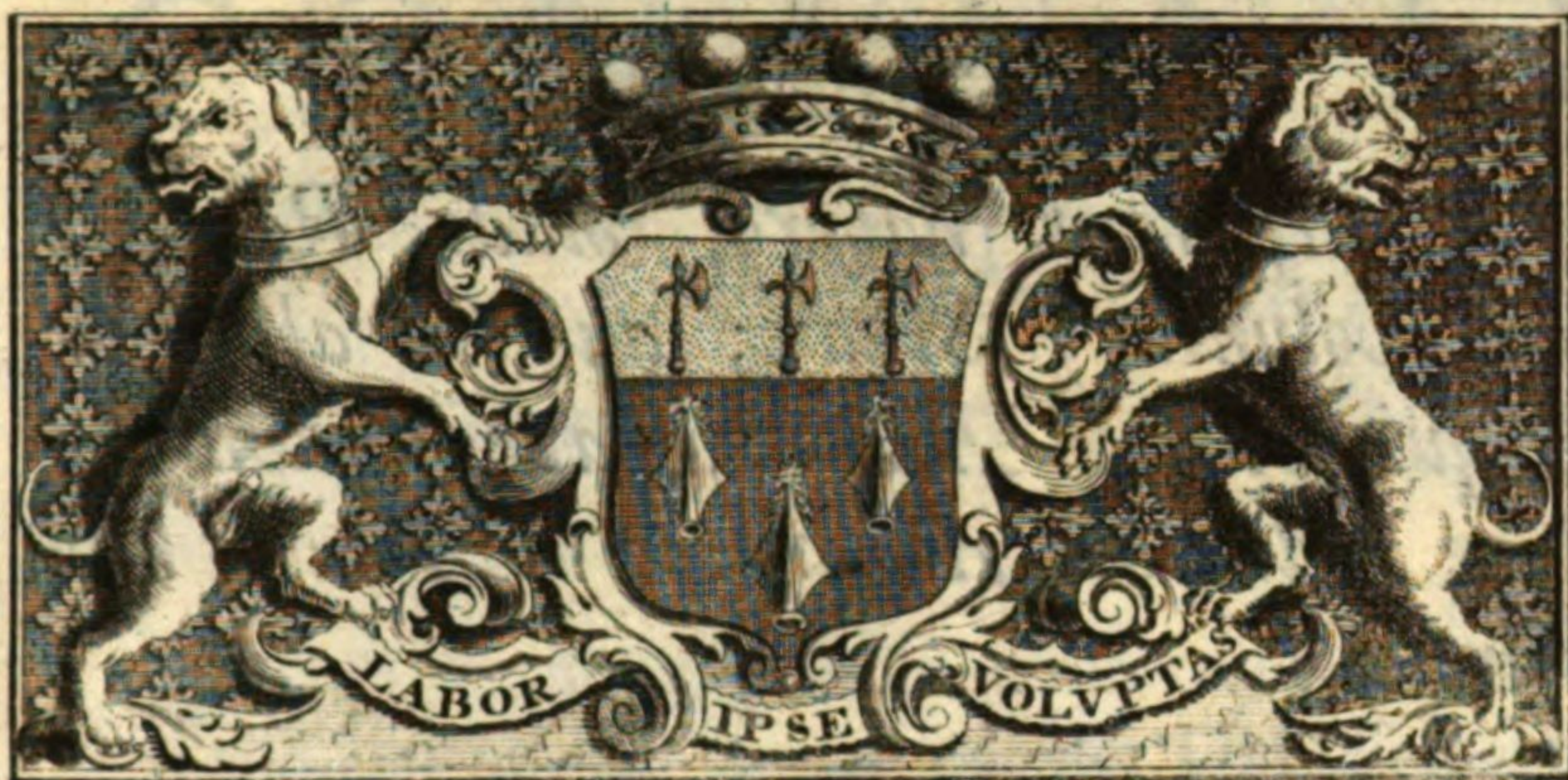
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St. Dunstons Church-Lane, and J. Brindley in New Bond-Street.
MDCCLXXII.





To the Right Honourable

P E T E R

Lord K I N G,

*Baron of Ockham, Lord High
Chancellor of Great-Britain.*

My Lord,

I *SHALL make no Apology for
addressing the following Sheets to
Your Lordship, who lived in a long
Intercourse of Friendship with the Au-
thor; and, like him, amidst occupations*

*of a different nature, made Religion
your voluntary Study; and in all your
Enquiries and Actions, have shewn the
same inflexible Adherence to Truth and
Virtue.*

*I shall always reckon it one of the
Advantages of my Relation to Sir Isaac
Newton, that it affords me an opportu-
nity of making this publick acknowledg-
ment of the unfeigned Respect of,*

My Lord,

Your Lordship's

most obedient, and

most humble Servant,

Benj. Smith.

CONTENTS.

PART I.

Observations upon the Prophecies of *Daniel*.

CHAP. I. Introduction concerning the Compilers of the Books of the Old Testament.

Page 1

CHAP. II. Of the Prophetic Language. 16

CHAP. III. Of the vision of the Image composed of four Metals. 24

CHAP. IV. Of the vision of the four Beasts. 28

CHAP. V. Of the Kingdoms represented by the feet of the Image composed of iron and clay. 33

CHAP. VI. Of the ten Kingdoms represented by the ten horns of the fourth Beast. 47

CHAP. VII. Of the eleventh horn of *Daniel's* fourth Beast. 74

CHAP. VIII. Of the power of the eleventh horn of *Daniel's* fourth Beast, to change times and laws. 90

CHAP. IX. Of the Kingdoms represented in *Daniel* by the Ram and He-Goat. 115

CHAP. X. Of the Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks. 128

CHAP. XI. Of the Times of the Birth and Passion of Christ. 144

CHAP.

CONTENTS.

CHAP. XII. Of the Prophecy of the Scripture of Truth. 169

CHAP. XIII. Of the King who did according to his will, and magnified himself above every God, and honoured *Mahuzzims*, and regarded not the desire of women. 194

CHAP. XIV. Of the *Mahuzzims*, honoured by the King who doth according to his will. 203

PART II.

Observations upon the *Apocalypse* of St. *John*.

CHAP. I. Introduction, concerning the time when the *Apocalypse* was written. 235

CHAP. II. Of the relation which the *Apocalypse* of *John* hath to the Book of the Law of *Moses*, and to the worship of God in the Temple. 254

CHAP. III. Of the relation which the Prophecy of *John* hath to those of *Daniel*; and of the Subject of the Prophecy. 276

PART

PART I

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

PROPHECIES

OF

DANIEL.

CONTENTS

Chapter I. Of the Prophecy of the Scrip- ture.	109
Chapter II. Of the Prophecy of the Scrip- ture.	124
Chapter III. Of the Prophecy of the Scrip- ture.	149
Chapter IV. Of the Prophecy of the Scrip- ture.	174
Chapter V. Of the Prophecy of the Scrip- ture.	209

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

PROPHECIES

OF

DANIEL.

PART

O B S E R V A T I O N S
U P O N T H E
Prophecies of *DANIEL*.

C H A P. I.

*Introduction concerning the Compilers of
the books of the Old Testament.*

WHEN *Manasses* set up a carved 2 Chron. xxxiii. 5, 6, 7. image in the house of the Lord, and built altars in the two courts of the house, to all the host of Heaven, and us'd enchantments and witchcraft, and familiar spirits, and for his great wickedness was invaded by the army of *Afferhadon* King of *Assyria*, and carried captive to *Babylon*; the book of the Law was lost till the eighteenth year of his grandson *Josiah*. Then *Hilkiah* the 2 Chron. xxxiv. High Priest, upon repairing the Temple, found it there: and the King lamented that their fathers had not done after the words of the

B book,

book, and commanded that it should be read to the people, and caused the people to renew the holy covenant with God. This is the book of the Law now extant.

2 Chron. xii.
2, 3, 4, 8, 9.
& xv. 3, 5, 6.

When *Shishak* came out of *Egypt* and spoil'd the temple, and brought *Judah* into subjection to the monarchy of *Egypt*, (which was in the fifth year of *Rehoboam*) the *Jews* continued under great troubles for about twenty years; being without the true God, and without a teaching Priest, and without Law: and in those times there was no peace to him that went out, nor to him that came in, but great vexations were upon all the inhabitants of the countries, and nation was destroyed of nation, and city of city, for God did vex them with all adversity. But

2 Chron. xiv.
1, 6, 7, 8, 9,
12.

when *Shishak* was dead, and *Egypt* fell into troubles, *Judah* had quiet ten years; and in that time *Asa* built fenced cities in *Judah*, and got up an army of 580000 men, with which, in the 15th year of his reign, he met and overcame *Zerah* the *Ethiopian*, who had conquered *Egypt* and *Lybia*, and *Troglodytica*, and came out with an army of 1000000 *Lybians* and *Ethiopians*, to recover the countries conquered by *Sesac*.

2 Chron. xv.
3, 12, 13, 16,
18.

And after this victory *Asa* dethroned his mother for idolatry, and he renewed the Altar, and brought new vessels of gold and silver into the Temple; and he and the people entred into a new

new covenant to seek the Lord God of their fathers, upon pain of death to those who worshiped other Gods; and his son *Jehosaphat* took away the high places, and in the third year of his reign sent some of his Princes, and of the Priests and Levites, to teach in the cities of *Judah*: and they had the book of the Law with them, and went about throughout all the cities of *Judah*, and taught the people. This is that book of the Law which was afterwards lost in the reign of *Manasses*, and found again in the reign of *Josiah*, and therefore it was written before the third year of *Jehosaphat*.

The same book of the Law was preserved and handed down to posterity by the *Samaritans*, and therefore was received by the ten Tribes before their captivity. For when the ten Tribes were captivated, a Priest of the captivity was sent back to *Bethel*, by order of the King of *Affyria*, to instruct the new inhabitants of *Samaria*, in the manner of the God of the land; and the *Samaritans* had the *Pentateuch* from this Priest, as containing the law or manner of the God of the land, which he was to teach them. For they persevered in the religion which he taught them, joining with it the worship of their own Gods; and by persevering in what they had been taught, they preserved this book of their Law in the original character of the *Hebrews*, while the two

2 Kings
xvii. 27, 28,
32, 33.

2 Kings
xvii. 34, 41.

Tribes, after their return from *Babylon*, changed the character to that of the *Chaldees*, which they had learned at *Babylon*.

And since the *Pentateuch* was received as the book of the Law, both by the two Tribes and by the ten Tribes, it follows that they received it before they became divided into two Kingdoms. For after the division, they received not laws from one another, but continued at variance. *Judah* could not reclaim *Israel* from the sin of *Jero-boam*, and *Israel* could not bring *Judah* to it. The *Pentateuch* therefore was the book of the Law in the days of *David* and *Solomon*. The affairs of the Tabernacle and Temple were ordered by *David* and *Solomon*, according to the Law of this book; and *David* in the 78th Psalm, admonishing the people to give ear to the Law of God, means the Law of this book. For in describing how their forefathers kept it not, he quotes many historical things out of the books of *Exodus* and *Numbers*.

Gen. xxxvi.
31.

The race of the Kings of *Edom*, before there reigned any King over *Israel*, is set down in the book of *Genesis*; and therefore that book was not written entirely in the form now extant, before the reign of *Saul*. The writer set down the race of those Kings till his own time, and therefore wrote before *David* conquered *Edom*. The *Pentateuch* is composed of the Law and the history

tory of God's people together; and the history hath been collected from several books, such as were the history of the Creation composed by *Moses*, *Gen.* ii. 4. the book of the generations of *Adam*, *Gen.* v. 1. and the book of the wars of the Lord, *Num.* xxi. 14. This book of wars contained what was done at the Red-sea, and in the journeying of *Israel* thro' the Wilderness, and therefore was begun by *Moses*. And *Joshua* might carry it on to the conquest of *Canaan*. For *Joshua* wrote some things in the book of the Law of God, *Josh.* xxiv. 26. and therefore might write his own wars in the book of wars, those being the principal wars of God. These were publick books, and therefore not written without the authority of *Moses* and *Joshua*. And *Samuel* had leisure in the reign of *Saul*, to put them into the form of the books of *Moses* and *Joshua* now extant, inserting into the book of *Genesis*, the race of the Kings of *Edom*, until there reigned a King in *Israel*.

The book of the *Judges* is a continued history of the *Judges* down to the death of *Sampson*, and therefore was compiled after his death, out of the Acts of the *Judges*. Several things in this book are said to be done *when there was no King in Israel*, *Judg.* xvii. 6. xviii. 1. xix. 1. xxi. 25. and therefore this book was written after the beginning of the reign of *Saul*. When

it

it was written, the *Jebusites* dwelt in *Jerusalem*, *Jud.* i. 21. and therefore it was written before the eighth year of *David*, 2 *Sam.* v. 8. and 1 *Chron.* xi 6. The books of *Moses*, *Joshua*, and *Judges*, contain one continued history, down from the Creation to the death of *Sampson*. Where the *Pentateuch* ends, the book of *Joshua* begins; and where the book of *Joshua* ends, the book of *Judges* begins. Therefore all these books have been composed out of the writings of *Moses*, *Joshua*, and other records, by one and the same hand, after the beginning of the reign of *Saul*, and before the eighth year of *David*. And *Samuel* was a sacred writer, 1 *Sam.* x. 25. acquainted with the history of *Moses* and the *Judges*, 1 *Sam.* xii. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. and had leisure in the reign of *Saul*, and sufficient authority to compose these books. He was a Prophet, and judged *Israel* all the days of his life, and was in the greatest esteem with the people; and the Law by which he was to judge the people was not to be published by less authority than his own, the Law-maker being not inferior to the judge. And the book of *Jasher*, which is quoted in the book of *Joshua*, *Josh.* x. 13. was in being at the death of *Saul*, 2 *Sam.* i. 18.

At the dedication of the Temple of *Solomon*, when the Ark was brought into the most holy place,

place, there was nothing in it but the two tables, *1 Kings* viii. 9. and therefore when the *Philistines* took the Ark, they took out of it the book of the Law, and the golden pot of Manna, and *Aaron's Rod*. And this and other losses in the desolation of *Israel*, by the conquering *Philistines*, might give occasion to *Samuel*, after some respite from those enemies, to recollect the scattered writings of *Moses* and *Joshua*, and the records of the Patriarchs and Judges, and compose them in the form now extant.

The book of *Ruth* is a history of things done in the days of the *Judges*, and may be looked upon as an addition to the book of the *Judges*, written by the same author, and at the same time. For it was written after the birth of *David*, *Ruth* iv. 17, 22. and not long after, because the history of *Boaz* and *Ruth*, the great grandfather and great grandmother of *David*, and that of their contemporaries, could not well be remembered above two or three generations. And since this book derives the genealogy of *David* from *Boaz* and *Ruth*, and omits *David's* elder brothers and his sons; it was written in honour of *David*, after he was anointed King by *Samuel*, and before he had children in *Hebron*, and by consequence in the reign of *Saul*. It proceeds not to the history of *David*, and therefore seems to have been written presently after he was anointed.

They judge well therefore who ascribe to *Samuel* the books of *Joshua*, *Judges*, and *Ruth*.

Samuel is also reputed the author of the first book of *Samuel*, till the time of his death. The two books of *Samuel* cite no authors, and therefore seem to be originals. They begin with his genealogy, birth and education, and might be written partly in his life-time by himself, or his disciples the Prophets at *Naioth* in *Ramah*, 1 *Sam.* xix. 18, 19, 20. and partly after his death by the same disciples.

The books of the *Kings* cite other authors, as the book of the Acts of *Solomon*, the book of the *Chronicles* of the Kings of *Israel*, and the book of the *Chronicles* of the Kings of *Judah*. The books of the *Chronicles* cite the book of *Samuel* the Seer, the book of *Nathan* the Prophet, and the book of *Gad* the Seer, for the Acts of *David*; the book of *Nathan* the Prophet, the Prophecy of *Abijah* the *Shilonite*, and the visions of *Iddo* the Seer, for the Acts of *Solomon*; the book of *Shemajah* the Prophet, and the book of *Iddo* the Seer concerning genealogies, for the Acts of *Rehoboam* and *Abijah*; the book of the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel* for the Acts of *Asa*, *Joash*, *Amaziah*, *Jotham*, *Ahaz*, *Hezekiah*, *Manasseh*, and *Josiah*; the book of *Hanani* the Seer, for the Acts of *Jehosaphat*; and the visions of *Isaiah* for the Acts of *Uzziah* and *Hezekiah*.

These

These books were therefore collected out of the historical writings of the antient Seers and Prophets. And because the books of the *Kings* and *Chronicles* quote one another, they were written at one and the same time. And this time was after the return from the *Babylonian* captivity, because they bring down the history of *Judah*, and the genealogies of the Kings of *Judah*, and of the High Priests, to that captivity. The book of *Ezra* was originally a part of the book of the *Chronicles*, and has been divided from it. For it begins with the two last verses of the books of *Chronicles*, and the first book of *Esdra*s begins with the two last chapters thereof. *Ezra* was therefore the compiler of the books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, and brought down the history to his own time. He was a ready Scribe in the Law of God; and for assisting him in this work *Nehemias* founded a library, and gathered together the *Acts of the Kings* and the *Prophets*, and of *David*, and the *Epistles of the Kings* concerning the holy gifts, 2 *Maccab.* ii. 13. By the *Acts of David* I understand here the two books of *Samuel*, or at least the second book. Out of the *Acts of the Kings*, written from time to time by the Prophets, he compos'd the books of the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, the *Chronicles of the Kings of Judah*, and the *Chronicles of the Kings of Israel*. And in doing this he

C

joined

joined those Acts together, in due order of time, copying the very words of the authors, as is manifest from hence, that the books of the *Kings* and *Chronicles* frequently agree with one another in words for many sentences together. Where they agree in sense, there they agree in words also.

So the Prophecies of *Isaiah*, written at several times, he has collected into one body. And the like he did for those of *Jeremiah*, and the rest of the Prophets, down to the days of the second Temple. The book of *Jonah* is the history of *Jonah* written by another hand. The book of *Daniel* is a collection of papers written at several times. The six last chapters contain Prophecies written at several times by *Daniel* himself: the six first are a collection of historical papers written by others. The fourth chapter is a decree of *Nebuchadnezzar*. The first chapter was written after *Daniel's* death: for the author saith, that *Daniel* continued to the first year of *Cyrus*; that is, to his first year over the *Persians* and *Medes*, and third year over *Babylon*. And, for the same reason, the fifth and sixth chapters were also written after his death. For they end with these words: *So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian.* Yet these words might be added by the collector of the papers, whom I take to be *Ezra*.

The

The Psalms composed by *Moses*, *David*, and others, seem to have been also collected by *Ezra* into one volume. I reckon him the collector, because in this collection I meet with Psalms as late as the *Babylonian* captivity, but with none later.

After these things *Antiochus Epiphanes* spoiled the Temple, commanded the *Jews* to forsake the Law upon pain of death, and caused the sacred books to be burnt wherever they could be found: and in these troubles the book of the *Chronicles* of the Kings of *Israel* was entirely lost. But upon recovering from this oppression, *Judas Maccabæus* gathered together all those writings that were to be met with, 2 *Maccab.* ii. 14. and in reducing them into order, part of the Prophecies of *Isaiah*, or some other Prophet, have been added to the end of the Prophecies of *Zechariah*; and the book of *Ezra* has been separated from the book of *Chronicles*, and set together in two different orders; in one order in the book of *Ezra*, received into the Canon, and in another order in the first book of *Esdra*.

After the *Roman* captivity, the *Jews* for preserving their traditions, put them in writing in their *Talmud*; and for preserving their scriptures, agreed upon an Edition, and pointed it, and counted the letters of every sort in every book: and by preserving only this Edition, the

antienter various lections, except what can be discovered by means of the *Septuagint* Version, are now lost; and such marginal notes, or other corruptions, as by the errors of the transcribers, before this Edition was made, had crept into the text, are now scarce to be corrected.

The *Jews* before the *Roman* captivity, distinguished the sacred books into the Law, the Prophets, and the *Hagiographa*, or holy writings; and read only the Law and the Prophets in their Synagogues. And Christ and his Apostles laid the stress of religion upon the Law and the Prophets, *Matt.* vii. 12. xxii. 4. *Luke* xvi. 16, 29, 31. xxiv. 44. *Acts* xxiv. 14. xxvi. 22. *Rom.* iii. 21. By the *Hagiographa* they meant the historical books called *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, *Samuel*, *Kings*, *Chronicles*, *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, and *Esther*, the book of *Job*, the *Psalms*, the books of *Solomon*, and the *Lamentations*. The *Samaritans* read only the *Pentateuch*: and when *Jehosaphat* sent men to teach in the cities, they had with them only the book of the Law; for the Prophecies now extant were not then written. And upon the return from the *Babylonian* captivity, *Ezra* read only the book of the Law to the people, from morning to noon, on the first day of the seventh month; and from day to day in the feast of Tabernacles: for he had not yet collected the writings of the Prophets into

into the volume now extant; but instituted the reading of them after the collection was made. By reading the Law and the Prophets in the Synagogues, those books have been kept freer from corruption than the *Hagiographa*.

In the infancy of the nation of *Israel*, when God had given them a Law, and made a covenant with them to be their God if they would keep his commandments, he sent Prophets to reclaim them, as often as they revolted to the worship of other Gods: and upon their returning to him, they sometimes renewed the covenant which they had broken. These Prophets he continued to send till the days of *Ezra*: but after their Prophecies were read in the Synagogues, those Prophecies were thought sufficient. For if the people would not hear *Moses* and the old Prophets, they would hear no new ones, no not *tho they should rise from the dead*. At length when a new truth was to be preached to the *Gentiles*, namely, *that Jesus was the Christ*, God sent new Prophets and Teachers: but after their writings were also received and read in the Synagogues of the Christians, Prophecy ceased a second time. We have *Moses*, the Prophets, and Apostles, and the words of Christ himself; and if we will not hear them, we shall be more inexcusable than the *Jews*. For the Prophets and Apostles have foretold,
that

that as *Israel* often revolted and brake the covenant, and upon repentance renewed it; so there should be a falling away among the Christians, soon after the days of the Apostles; and that in the latter days God would destroy the impenitent revolvers, and make a new covenant with his people. And the giving ear to the Prophets is a fundamental character of the true Church. For God has so ordered the Prophecies, that in the latter days *the wise may understand, but the wicked shall do wickedly, and none of the wicked shall understand*, Dan. xii. 9, 10. The authority of Emperors, Kings, and Princes, is human. The authority of Councils, Synods, Bishops, and Presbyters, is human. The authority of the Prophets is divine, and comprehends the sum of religion, reckoning *Moses* and the Apostles among the Prophets; and if an *Angel from Heaven preach any other gospel*, than what they have delivered, *let him be accursed*. Their writings contain the covenant between God and his people, with instructions for keeping this covenant; instances of God's judgments upon them that break it: and predictions of things to come. While the people of God keep the covenant, they continue to be his people: when they break it they cease to be his people or church, and become *the Synagogue of Satan, who say they are Jews*
and

and are not. And no power on earth is authorized to alter this covenant.

The predictions of things to come relate to the state of the Church in all ages: and amongst the old Prophets, *Daniel* is most distinct in order of time, and easiest to be understood: and therefore in those things which relate to the last times, he must be made the key to the rest.

C H A P.

C H A P. II.

Of the Prophetic Language.

FOR understanding the Prophecies, we are, in the first place, to acquaint our-selves with the figurative language of the Prophets. This language is taken from the analogy between the world natural, and an empire or kingdom considered as a world politic.

Accordingly, the whole world natural consisting of heaven and earth, signifies the whole world politic, consisting of thrones and people, or so much of it as is considered in the Prophecy: and the things in that world signify the analogous things in this. For the heavens, and the things therein, signify thrones and dignities, and those who enjoy them; and the earth, with the things thereon, the inferior people; and the lowest parts of the earth, called *Hades* or Hell, the lowest or most miserable part of them. Whence ascending towards heaven, and descending to the earth, are put for rising and falling in power and honour: rising out of the earth, or waters, and falling into them, for the rising up to any dignity or dominion, out of the inferior

ferior state of the people, or falling down from the same into that inferior state; descending into the lower parts of the earth, for descending to a very low and unhappy estate; speaking with a faint voice out of the dust, for being in a weak and low condition; moving from one place to another, for translation from one office, dignity, or dominion, to another; great earthquakes, and the shaking of heaven and earth, for the shaking of kingdoms, so as to distract or overthrow them; the creating a new heaven and earth, and the passing away of an old one, or the beginning and end of the world, for the rise and ruin of the body politic signified thereby.

In the heavens, the Sun and Moon are, by interpreters of dreams, put for the persons of Kings and Queens; but in sacred Prophecy, which regards not single persons, the Sun is put for the whole species and race of Kings, in the kingdom or kingdoms of the world politic, shining with regal power and glory; the Moon for the body of the common people, considered as the King's wife; the Stars for subordinate Princes and great men, or for Bishops and Rulers of the people of God, when the Sun is Christ; light for the glory, truth, and knowledge, where-with great and good men shine and illuminate others; darkness for obscurity of condition, and for error, blindness and ignorance; darkning,
D smiting,

limiting, or setting of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, for the ceasing of a kingdom, or for the desolation thereof, proportional to the darkness; darkening the Sun, turning the Moon into blood, and falling of the Stars, for the same; new Moons, for the return of a dispersed people into a body politic or ecclesiastic.

Fire and meteors refer to both heaven and earth, and signify as follows; burning any thing with fire, is put for the consuming thereof by war; a conflagration of the earth, or turning a country into a lake of fire, for the consumption of a kingdom by war; the being in a furnace, for the being in slavery under another nation; the ascending up of the smoke of any burning thing for ever and ever, for the continuation of a conquered people under the misery of perpetual subjection and slavery; the scorching heat of the sun, for vexatious wars, persecutions and troubles inflicted by the King; riding on the clouds, for reigning over much people; covering the sun with a cloud, or with smoke, for oppression of the King by the armies of an enemy; tempestuous winds, or the motion of clouds, for wars; thunder, or the voice of a cloud, for the voice of a multitude; a storm of thunder, lightning, hail, and overflowing rain, for a tempest of war descending from the heavens and clouds politic,
on

on the heads of their enemies ; rain, if not immoderate, and dew, and living water, for the graces and doctrines of the Spirit ; and the defect of rain, for spiritual barrenness.

In the earth, the dry land and congregated waters, as a sea, a river, a flood, are put for the people of several regions, nations, and dominions ; embittering of waters, for great affliction of the people by war and persecution ; turning things into blood, for the mystical death of bodies politic, that is, for their dissolution ; the overflowing of a sea or river, for the invasion of the earth politic, by the people of the waters ; drying up of waters, for the conquest of their regions by the earth ; fountains of waters for cities, the permanent heads of rivers politic ; mountains and islands, for the cities of the earth and sea politic, with the territories and dominions belonging to those cities ; dens and rocks of mountains, for the temples of cities ; the hiding of men in those dens and rocks, for the shutting up of Idols in their temples ; houses and ships, for families, assemblies, and towns, in the earth and sea politic ; and a navy of ships of war, for an army of that kingdom that is signified by the sea.

Animals also and vegetables are put for the people of several regions and conditions ; and particularly, trees, herbs, and land animals, for the people of the earth politic : flags, reeds, and

fishes, for those of the waters politic; birds and insects, for those of the politic heaven and earth; a forest for a kingdom; and a wilderness for a desolate and thin people.

If the world politic, considered in prophecy, consists of many kingdoms, they are represented by as many parts of the world natural; as the noblest by the celestial frame, and then the Moon and Clouds are put for the common people; the less noble, by the earth, sea, and rivers, and by the animals or vegetables, or buildings therein; and then the greater and more powerful animals and taller trees, are put for Kings, Princes, and Nobles. And because the whole kingdom is the body politic of the King, therefore the Sun, or a Tree, or a Beast, or Bird, or a Man, whereby the King is represented, is put in a large signification for the whole kingdom; and several animals, as a Lion, a Bear, a Leopard, a Goat, according to their qualities, are put for several kingdoms and bodies politic; and sacrificing of beasts, for slaughtering and conquering of kingdoms; and friendship between beasts, for peace between kingdoms. Yet sometimes vegetables and animals are, by certain epithets or circumstances, extended to other significations; as a Tree, when called the *tree of life* or of *knowledge*; and a Beast, when called *the old serpent*, or worshipped.

When

When a Beast or Man is put for a kingdom, his parts and qualities are put for the analogous parts and qualities of the kingdom; as the head of a Beast, for the great men who precede and govern; the tail for the inferior people, who follow and are governed; the heads, if more than one, for the number of capital parts, or dynasties, or dominions in the kingdom, whether collateral or successive, with respect to the civil government; the horns on any head, for the number of kingdoms in that head, with respect to military power; seeing for understanding, and the eyes for men of understanding and policy, and in matters of religion for Ἐπισκοποι, Bishops; speaking, for making laws; the mouth, for a law-giver, whether civil or sacred; the loudness of the voice, for might and power; the faintness thereof, for weakness; eating and drinking, for acquiring what is signified by the things eaten and drank; the hairs of a beast, or man, and the feathers of a bird, for people; the wings, for the number of kingdoms represented by the beast; the arm of a man, for his power, or for any people wherein his strength and power consists; his feet, for the lowest of the people, or for the latter end of the kingdom; the feet, nails, and teeth of beasts of prey, for armies and squadrons of armies; the bones, for strength, and for fortified places; the flesh, for riches and
pos-

possessions; and the days of their acting, for years; and when a tree is put for a kingdom, its branches, leaves and fruit, signify as do the wings, feathers, and food of a bird or beast.

When a man is taken in a mystical sense, his qualities are often signified by his actions, and by the circumstances of things about him. So a Ruler is signified by his riding on a beast; a Warrior and Conqueror, by his having a sword and bow; a potent man, by his gigantic stature; a Judge, by weights and measures; a sentence of absolution, or condemnation, by a white or a black stone; a new dignity, by a new name; moral or civil qualifications, by garments; honour and glory, by splendid apparel; royal dignity, by purple or scarlet, or by a crown; righteousness, by white and clean robes; wickedness, by spotted and filthy garments; affliction, mourning, and humiliation, by clothing in sackcloth; dishonour, shame, and want of good works, by nakedness; error and misery, by drinking a cup of his or her wine that causeth it; propagating any religion for gain, by exercising traffick and merchandize with that people whose religion it is; worshipping or serving the false Gods of any nation, by committing adultery with their princes, or by worshipping them; a Council of a kingdom, by its image; idolatry, by blasphemy; overthrow in war, by a wound

wound of man or beast; a durable plague of war, by a sore and pain; the affliction or persecution which a people suffers in labouring to bring forth a new kingdom, by the pain of a woman in labour to bring forth a man-child; the dissolution of a body politic or ecclesiastic, by the death of a man or beast; and the revival of a dissolved dominion, by the resurrection of the dead.

CHAP.

C H A P. III.

Of the vision of the Image composed of four Metals.

TH E Prophecies of *Daniel* are all of them related to one another, as if they were but several parts of one general Prophecy, given at several times. The first is the easiest to be understood, and every following Prophecy adds something new to the former. The first was given in a dream to *Nebuchadnezzar*, King of *Babylon*, in the second year of his reign; but the King forgetting his dream, it was given again to *Daniel* in a dream, and by him revealed to the King. And thereby, *Daniel* presently became famous for wisdom, and revealing of secrets: insomuch that *Ezekiel* his contemporary, in the nineteenth year of *Nebuchadnezzar*, spake thus of him to the King of *Tyre*: *Behold*, saith he, *thou art wiser than Daniel, there is no secret that they can hide from thee*, Ezek. xxviii. 3. And the same *Ezekiel*, in another place, joins *Daniel* with *Noah* and *Job*, as most high in the favour of God, Ezek. xiv. 14, 16, 18, 20. And in the last year of *Belsazzar*, the Queen-mother said of him to the King: *Behold there*
is

is a man in thy kingdom, in whom is the spirit of the holy gods; and in the days of thy father, light and understanding and wisdom, like the wisdom of the gods, was found in him; whom the king Nebuchadnezzar thy father, the king, I say, thy father made master of the magicians, astrologers, Chaldeans and soothsayers: forasmuch as an excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding, interpreting of dreams, and shewing of hard sentences, and dissolving of doubts, were found in the same Daniel, whom the king named Belteshazzar, Dan. v. 11, 12. Daniel was in the greatest credit amongst the Jews, till the reign of the Roman Emperor Hadrian: and to reject his Prophecies, is to reject the Christian religion. For this religion is founded upon his Prophecy concerning the *Messiah*.

Now in this vision of the Image composed of four Metals, the foundation of all Daniel's Prophecies is laid. It represents a body of four great nations, which should reign over the earth successively, viz. the people of *Babylonia*, the *Persians*, the *Greeks*, and the *Romans*. And by a stone cut out without hands, which fell upon the feet of the Image, and brake all the four Metals to pieces, and became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth; it further represents that a new kingdom should arise, after the four, and conquer all those nations,

E

and

and grow very great, and last to the end of all ages.

The head of the Image was of gold, and signifies the nations of *Babylonia*, who reigned first, as *Daniel* himself interprets. *Thou art this head of gold*, saith he to *Nebuchadnezzar*. These nations reigned till *Cyrus* conquered *Babylon*, and within a few months after that conquest revolted to the *Persians*, and set them up above the *Medes*. The breast and arms of the Image were of silver, and represent the *Persians* who reigned next. The belly and thighs of the Image were of brass, and represent the *Greeks*, who, under the dominion of *Alexander* the great, conquered the *Persians*, and reigned next after them. The legs were of iron, and represent the *Romans* who reigned next after the *Greeks*, and began to conquer them in the eighth year of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. For in that year they conquered *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, the fundamental kingdom of the *Greeks*; and from thence forward grew into a mighty empire, and reigned with great power till the days of *Theodosius* the great. Then by the incursion of many northern nations, they brake into many smaller kingdoms, which are represented by the feet and toes of the Image, composed part of iron, and part of clay. For then, saith *Daniel*, the kingdom shall be divided,
and

and there shall be in it of the strength of iron, Chap. ii. 41.
Ec.
but they shall not cleave one to another.

And in the days of these Kings, saith Daniel, shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed: and the kingdom shall not be left to other people; but it shall break in pieces, and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever. Forasmuch as thou sawest that the stone was cut out of the mountains without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver and the gold.

C H A P. IV.

Of the vision of the four Beasts.

IN the next vision, which is of the four Beasts, the Prophecy of the four Empires is repeated, with several new additions; such as are the two wings of the Lion, the three ribs in the mouth of the Bear, the four wings and four heads of the Leopard, the eleven horns of the fourth Beast, and the son of man coming in the clouds of Heaven, to the Antient of Days sitting in judgment.

The first Beast was like a lion, and had eagle's wings, to denote the kingdoms of *Babylonia* and *Media*, which overthrew the *Assyrian* Empire, and divided it between them, and thereby became considerable, and grew into great Empires. In the former Prophecy, the Empire of *Babylonia* was represented by the head of gold; in this both Empires are represented together by the two wings of the lion. *And I beheld, saith Daniel, till the wings thereof were pluckt, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made to stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it; that is, till*
it

it was humbled and subdued, and made to know its human state.

The second Beast was like a bear, and represents the Empire which reigned next after the *Babylonians*, that is, the Empire of the *Persians*. *Thy kingdom is divided*, or broken, saith *Daniel* to the last King of *Babylon*, and given to the *Medes* and *Persians*, *Dan.* v. 28. This Beast raised itself up on one side; the *Persians* being under the *Medes* at the fall of *Babylon*, but presently rising up above them. And it had Chap. vii 5. three ribs in the mouth of it, between the teeth of it, to signify the kingdoms of *Sardes*, *Babylon*, and *Egypt*, which were conquered by it, but did not belong to its proper body. And it devoured much flesh, the riches of those three kingdoms.

The third Beast was the kingdom which succeeded the *Persian*; and this was the empire of the *Greeks*, *Dan.* viii. 6, 7, 20, 21. It was like a *Leopard*, to signify its fierceness; and had four heads and four wings, to signify that it should become divided into four kingdoms, *Dan.* viii. 22. for it continued in a monarchical form during the reign of *Alexander* the great, and his brother *Aridæus*, and young sons *Alexander* and *Hercules*; and then brake into four kingdoms, by the governors of provinces putting crowns on their own heads, and by mutual consent reigning
over

over their provinces. *Cassander* reigned over *Macedon*, *Greece*, and *Epirus*; *Lyfimachus* over *Thrace* and *Bithynia*; *Ptolemy* over *Egypt*, *Lybia*, *Arabia*, *Cælosyria*, and *Palestine*; and *Seleucus* over *Syria*.

The fourth Beast was the empire which succeeded that of the *Greeks*, and this was the *Roman*. This beast was exceeding dreadful and terrible, and had great iron teeth, and devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with its feet; and such was the *Roman* empire. It was larger, stronger, and more formidable and lasting than any of the former. It conquered the kingdom of *Macedon*, with *Illyricum* and *Epirus*, in the eighth year of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Anno Nabonass.* 580; and inherited that of *Pergamus*, *Anno Nabonass.* 615; and conquered that of *Syria*, *Anno Nabonass.* 679, and that of *Egypt*, *Anno Nabonass.* 718. And by these and other conquests it became greater and more terrible than any of the three former Beasts. This Empire continued in its greatness till the reign of *Theodosius* the great; and then brake into ten kingdoms, represented by the ten horns of this Beast; and continued in a broken form, till the Antient of days sat in a throne like fiery flame, and the judgment was set, and the books were opened, and the Beast was slain and

and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flames; and one like the son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Antient of days, and received dominion over all nations, and judgment was given to the saints of the most high, and the time came that they possessed the kingdom.

Chap. vii.
13.

*I beheld, saith Daniel, till the Beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flames. As concerning the rest of the Beasts, they had their dominion taken away: yet their lives were prolonged for a season and a time. And therefore all the four Beasts are still alive, tho the dominion of the three first be taken away. The nations of Chaldea and Assyria are still the first Beast. Those of Media and Persia are still the second Beast. Those of Macedon, Greece and Thrace, Asia minor, Syria and Egypt, are still the third. And those of Europe, on this side Greece, are still the fourth. Seeing therefore the body of the third Beast is confined to the nations on this side the river Euphrates, and the body of the fourth Beast is confined to the nations on this side Greece; we are to look for all the four heads of the third Beast, among the nations on this side of the river Euphrates; and for all the eleven horns of the fourth Beast, among the nations on this side of Greece. And there-
fore,*

Chap. vii.
11, 12.

therefore, at the breaking of the *Greek* empire into four kingdoms of the *Greeks*, we include no part of the *Chaldeans*, *Medes* and *Persians* in those kingdoms, because they belonged to the bodies of the two first Beasts. Nor do we reckon the *Greek* empire seated at *Constantinople*, among the horns of the fourth Beast, because it belonged to the body of the third.

C H A P.

C H A P. V.

Of the Kingdoms represented by the feet of the Image composed of iron and clay.

D*ACIA* was a large country bounded on the south by the *Danube*, on the east by the *Euxine* sea, on the north by the river *Neister* and the mountain *Crapac*, and on the west by the river *Tibesis*, or *Tey*s, which runs southward into the *Danube* a little above *Belgrade*. It comprehended the countries now called *Transylvania*, *Moldavia*, and *Wallachia*, and the eastern part of the upper *Hungary*. Its antient inhabitants were called *Getæ* by the *Greeks*, *Daci* by the *Latins*, and *Goths* by themselves. *Alexander* the great attacked them, and *Trajan* conquered them, and reduced their country into a Province of the *Roman* Empire: and thereby the propagation of the Gospel among them was much promoted. They were composed of several *Gothic* nations, called *Ostrogoths*, *Visigoths*, *Vandals*, *Gepides*, *Lombards*, *Burgundians*, *Alans*, &c. who all agreed in their manners, and spake the same language,

F as

as *Procopius* represents. While they lived under the *Romans*, the *Goths* or *Ostrogoths* were seated in the eastern parts of *Dacia*, the *Vandals* in the western part upon the river *Teys*, where the rivers *Maresb* and *Keresb* run into it. The *Visigoths* were between them. The *Gepides*, according to *Jornandes*, were upon the *Vistula*. The *Burgundians*, a *Vandalic* nation, were between the *Vistula* and the southern fountain of the *Boristhenes*, at some distance from the mountain *Crapac* northwards, where *Ptolemy* places them, by the names of *Phrugundiones* and *Burgiones*. The *Alans*, another *Gothic* nation, were between the northern fountain of the *Boristhenes* and the mouth of the river *Tanais*, where *Ptolemy* placeth the mountain *Alanus*, and western side of the *Palus Mæotis*.

Procop. l. i.
de Bello
Vandalico.

These nations continued under the dominion of the *Romans* till the second year of the Emperor *Philip*, and then for want of their military pay began to revolt; the *Ostrogoths* setting up a kingdom, which, under their Kings *Ostrogotha*, *Cniva*, *Araric*, *Geperic*, and *Hermanaric*, increased till the year of Christ 376; and then by an incursion of the *Huns* from beyond the *Tanais*, and the death of *Hermanaric*, brake into several smaller kingdoms. *Hunnimund*, the son of *Hermanaric*, became King over the *Ostrogoths*; *Fridigern* over the *Visigoths*; *Winitbar*,

or

or *Vinithar*, over a part of the *Goths* called *Gruthungi* by *Ammian*, *Gothunni* by *Claudian*, and *Sarmatæ* and *Scythians* by others: *Athana-ric* reign'd over another part of the *Goths* in *Dacia*, called *Thervingi*; *Box* over the *Antes* in *Sarmatia*; and the *Gepides* had also their King. The *Vandals* fled over the *Danube* from *Geberic* in the latter end of the reign of *Constantine* the great, and had seats granted them in *Pannonia* by that Emperor, where they lived quietly forty years, viz. till the year 377, when several *Gothic* nations flying from the *Hunns* came over the *Danube*, and had seats granted them in *Mæsia* and *Thrace* by the *Greek* Emperor *Valens*. But the next year they revolted, called in some *Goths*, *Alans* and *Hunns*, from beyond the *Danube*, and routed the *Roman* army, slew the Emperor *Valens*, and spread themselves into *Greece* and *Pannonia* as far as the *Alps*. In the years 379 and 380 they were checkt by the arms of the Emperors *Gratian* and *Theodosius*, and made a submissive peace; the *Visigoths* and *Thervingi* returned to their seats in *Mæsia* and *Thrace*, the *Hunns* retired over the *Danube*, and the *Alans* and *Gruthingi* obtained seats in *Pannonia*.

About the year 373, or 374, the *Burgundians* rose from their seats upon the *Vistula*, with an army of eighty thousand men to invade *Gallia*;

and being opposed, seated themselves upon the northern side of the *Rhine* over against *Mentz*. In the year 358, a body of the *Salian Franks*, with their King, coming from the river *Sala*, were received into the Empire by the Emperor *Julian*, and seated in *Gallia* between *Brabant* and the *Rhine*: and their King *Mellobaudes* was made *Comes domesticorum*, by the Emperor *Gratian*. *Richomer*, another noble *Salian Frank*, was made *Comes domesticorum*, and *Magister utriusque Militiæ*, by *Theodosius*; and A. C. 384, was Consul with *Clearchus*. He was a great favourite of *Theodosius*, and accompanied him in his wars against *Eugenius*, but died in the expedition, and left a son called *Theudomir*, who afterwards became King of the *Salian Franks* in *Brabant*. In the time of this war some *Franks* from beyond the *Rhine* invaded *Gallia* under the conduct of *Genobald*, *Marcomir* and *Suno*, but were repulsed by *Stilico*; and *Marcomir* being slain, was succeeded in *Germany* by his son *Pharamond*.

While these nations remained quiet within the Empire, subject to the *Romans*, many others continued so beyond the *Danube* till the death of the Emperor *Theodosius*, and then rose up in arms. For *Paulus Diaconus* in his *Historia Miscell. lib. xiv.* speaking of the times next after the death of this Emperor, tells us: *Eodem tempore*

pore erant Gothi & aliæ gentes maximæ trans Danubium habitantes: ex quibus rationabiliores quatuor sunt, Gothi scilicet, Huisogothi, Gepides & Vandali; & nomen tantum & nihil aliud mutantes. Isti sub Arcadio & Honorio Danubium transeuntes, locati sunt in terra Romanorum: & Gepides quidem, ex quibus postea divisi sunt Longobardi & Avars, villas, quæ sunt circa Singidonum & Sirmium, habitavere: and Procopius in the beginning of his *Historia Vandalica* writes to the same purpose. Hitherto the *Western Empire* continued entire, but now brake into many kingdoms.

Theodosius died A. C. 395; and then the *Visigoths*, under the conduct of *Alaric* the successor of *Fridigern*, rose from their seats in *Thrace*, and wasted *Macedon*, *Thessaly*, *Achaia*, *Peloponnesus*, and *Epirus*, with fire and sword for five years together; when turning westward, they invaded *Dalmatia*, *Illyricum* and *Pannonia*; and from thence went into *Italy* A. C. 402; and the next year were so beaten at *Pollentia* and *Verona*, by *Stilico* the commander of the forces of the *Western Empire*, that *Claudian* calls the remainder of the forces of *Alaric*, *tanta ex gente reliquias breves*, and *Prudentius*, *Gentem deletam*. Thereupon *Alaric* made peace with the Emperor, being so far humbled, that *Orosius* saith, he did, *pro pace optima & quibuscunque sedibus suppli-*

suppliciter & simpliciter orare. This peace was ratified by mutual hostages; *Ætius* was sent hostage to *Alaric*; and *Alaric* continued a free Prince in the seats now granted to him.

When *Alaric* took up arms, the nations beyond the *Danube* began to be in motion; and the next winter, between A. C. 395 and 396, a great body of *Hunns*, *Alans*, *Ostrogoths*, *Gepides*, and other northern nations, came over the frozen *Danube*, being invited by *Rufinus*: when their brethren, who had obtained seats within the Empire, took up arms also. *Jerome* calls this great multitude, *Hunns*, *Alans*, *Vandals*, *Goths*, *Sarmatians*, *Quades*, and *Marcomans*; and saith, that they invaded all places between *Constantinople* and the *Julian Alps*, wasting *Scythia*, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, *Dardania*, *Dacia*, *Thessaly*, *Achaia*, *Epirus*, *Dalmatia*, and all *Pannonia*. The *Suevians* also invaded *Rhætia*: for when *Alaric* ravaged *Pannonia*, the Romans were defending *Rhætia*; which gave *Alaric* an opportunity of invading *Italy*, as *Claudian* thus mentions.

*Non nisi perfidiâ nacti penetrabile tempus,
Irrupere Getæ, nostras dum Rhætia vires
Occupat, atque alio desudant Marte cohortes.*

And

And when *Alaric* went from those parts into *Italy*, some other barbarous nations invaded *Noricum* and *Vindelicia*, as the same Poet *Claudian* thus writes:

—*Jam fœdera gentes*
Exuerant, Latique auditâ clade feroces
Vendelicos saltus & Norica rura tenebant.

This was in the years 402 and 403. And among these nations I reckon the *Suevians*, *Quades*, and *Marcomans*; for they were all in arms at this time. The *Quades* and *Marcomans* were *Suevian* nations; and they and the *Suevians* came originally from *Bohemia*, and the river *Suevus* or *Sprake* in *Lusatia*; and were now united under one common King called *Ermeric*, who soon after led them into *Gallia*. The *Vandals* and *Alans* might also about this time extend themselves into *Noricum*. *Uldin* also with a great body of *Hunns* passed the *Danube* about the time of *Chrysofom's* banishment, that is, A. C. 404, and wasted *Thrace* and *Mæsia*. *Radagaisus*, King of the *Gru-thunni* and successor of *Winitbar*, inviting over more barbarians from beyond the *Danube*, invaded *Italy* with an army of above two hundred thousand *Goths*; and within a year or two, A. C. 405 or 406., was overcome by *Stilico*,
and

and perished with his army. In this war *Stilico* was assisted with a great body of *Hunns* and *Ostrogoths*, under the conduct of *Uldin* and *Sarus*, who were hired by the Emperor *Honorius*. In all this confusion it was necessary for the *Lombards* in *Pannonia* to arm themselves in their own defence, and assert their liberty, the *Romans* being no longer able to protect them.

And now *Stilico* purposing to make himself Emperor, procured a military prefecture for *Alaric*, and sent him into the *East* in the service of *Honorius* the *Western* Emperor, committing some *Roman* troops to his conduct to strengthen his army of *Goths*, and promising to follow soon after with his own army. His pretence was to recover some regions of *Illyricum*, which the *Eastern* Emperor was accused to detain injuriously from the *Western*; but his secret design was to make himself Emperor, by the assistance of the *Vandals* and their allies: for he himself was a *Vandal*. For facilitating this design, he invited a great body of the barbarous nations to invade the *Western Empire*, while he and *Alaric* invaded the *Eastern*. And these nations under their several Kings, the *Vandals* under *Godegisilus*, the *Alans* in two bodies, the one under *Goar*, the other under *Resplendial*, and the *Suevians*, *Quades*, and *Marcomans*, under *Ermeric*, marched thro' *Rhætia* to the side of the *Rhine*,
2 leaving

leaving their seats in *Pannonia* to the *Hunns* and *Ostrogoths*, and joined the *Burgundians* under *Gundicar*, and ruffled the *Franks* in their further march. On the last of *December* A. C. 406, they passed the *Rhine* at *Ments*, and spread themselves into *Germania prima* and the adjacent regions; and amongst other actions the *Vandals* took *Triers*. Then they advanced into *Belgium*, and began to waste that country. Whereupon the *Salian Franks* in *Brabant* took up arms, and under the conduct of *Theudomir*, the son of *Ricimer*, or *Richomer*, abovementioned, made so stout a resistance, that they slew almost twenty thousand of the *Vandals*, with their King *Godegesilus*, in battel; the rest escaping only by a party of *Resplendial's* *Alans* which came timely to their assistance.

Then the *British* soldiers, alarm'd by the rumour of these things, revolted, and set up Tyrants there; first *Marcus*, whom they slew presently; then *Gratian*, whom they slew within four months; and lastly *Constantine*, under whom they invaded *Gallia* A. C. 408, being favoured by *Goar* and *Gundicar*. And *Constantine* having possessed a good part of *Gallia*, created his son *Constans Cæsar*, and sent him into *Spain* to order his affairs there, A. C. 409.

In the mean time *Resplendial*, seeing the aforesaid disaster of the *Vandals*, and that *Goar*

G

was

was gone over to the *Romans*, led his army from the *Rhine*; and, together with the *Suevians* and residue of the *Vandals*, went towards *Spain*; the *Franks* in the mean time prosecuting their victory so far as to retake *Triers*, which after they had plundered they left to the *Romans*. The *Barbarians* were at first stopt by the *Pyrenean* mountains, which made them spread themselves into *Aquitain*: but the next year they had the passage betrayed by some soldiers of *Constans*; and entering *Spain* 4 Kal. *Octob.* A. C. 409, they conquered every one what he could; and at length, A. C. 411, divided their conquests by lot; the *Vandals* obtained *Bætica*, and part of *Gallæcia*; the *Suevians* the rest of *Gallæcia*; and the *Alans* *Lusitania* and the *Carthaginian* Province: the Emperor for the sake of peace confirming them in those seats by grant A. C. 413.

Galli Arborici: whence the region was named Arboricant, and by contraction Brabant.

The *Roman Franks* abovementioned, having made *Theudomir* their King, began strait after their conquest of the *Vandals* to invade their neighbours also. The first they set upon were the *Gauls* of *Brabant*: but meeting with notable resistance, they desired their alliance: and so those *Gauls* fell off from the *Romans*, and made an intimate league with the *Franks* to be as one people, marrying with one another,

another, and conforming to one another's manners, till they became one without distinction. Thus by the access of these *Gauls*, and of the foreign *Franks* also, who afterwards came over the *Rhine*, the *Salian* kingdom soon grew very great and powerful.

Stilico's expedition against the *Greek* Emperor was stopt by the order of *Honorius*; and then *Alaric* came out of *Epirus* into *Noricum*, and requested a sum of money for his service. The Senate were inclined to deny him, but by *Stilico's* mediation granted it. But after some time *Stilico* being accused of a traiterous conspiracy with *Alaric*, and slain 10 Kal. Sept. A. C. 408; *Alaric* was thereby disappointed of his money, and reputed an enemy to the Empire; he then broke strait into *Italy* with the army he brought out of *Epirus*, and sent to his brother *Adolphus* to follow him with what forces he had in *Pannonia*, which were not great, but yet not to be despised. Thereupon *Honorius* fearing to be shut up in *Rome*, retired to *Ravenna* in October A. C. 408. And from that time *Ravenna* continued to be the seat of the *Western* Emperors. In those days the *Hunns* also invaded *Pannonia*; and seizing the deserted seats of the *Vandals*, *Alans*, and *Goths*, founded a new kingdom there. *Alaric* advancing to *Rome* besieged it,

and 9 Kal. Sept. A. C. 410 took it: and afterwards attempting to pass into *Africa*, was shipwrackt. After which *Honorius* made peace with him, and got up an army to send against the Tyrant *Constantine*.

At the same time *Gerontius*, one of *Constantine's* captains, revolted from him, and set up *Maximus* Emperor in *Spain*. Whereupon *Constantine* sent *Edobec*, another of his captains, to draw to his assistance, the *Barbarians* under *Goar* and *Gundicar* in *Gallia*, and supplies of *Franks* and *Alemans* from beyond the *Rhine*; and committed the custody of *Vienne* in *Gallia Narbonensis* to his son *Constans*. *Gerontius* advancing, first slew *Constans* at *Vienne*, and then began to besiege *Constantine* at *Arles*. But *Honorius* at the same time sending *Constantius* with an army on the same errand, *Gerontius* fled, and *Constantius* continued the siege, strengthened by the access of the greatest part of the soldiers of *Gerontius*. After four months siege, *Edobec* having procured succours, the *Barbarian* Kings at *Ments*, *Goar* and *Gundicar*, constitute *Jovinus* Emperor, and together with him set forward to relieve *Arles*. At their approach *Constantius* retired. They pursued, and he beat them by surprize; but not prosecuting his victory, the *Barbarians* soon recovered themselves; yet not so as to hinder the fall of the tyrants *Constantine*, *Jovinus* and

and *Maximus*. *Britain* could not be recovered to the Empire, but remained ever after a distinct kingdom.

The next year, A. C. 412, the *Visigoths* being beaten in *Italy*, had *Aquitain* granted them to retire into : and they invaded it with much violence, causing the *Alans* and *Burgundians* to retreat, who were then depopulating of it. At the same time the *Burgundians* were brought to peace ; and the Emperor granted them for inheritance a region upon the *Rhine* which they had invaded : and the same, I presume, he did with the *Alans*. But the *Franks* not long after retaking and burning *Triers*, *Castinus*, A. C. 415, was sent against them with an army, who routed them and slew *Theudomir* their King. This was the second taking of *Triers* by the *Franks*. It was therefore taken four times, once by the *Vandals* and thrice by the *Franks*. *Theudomir* was succeeded by *Pharamond*, the Prince or King of the *Salian Franks* in *Germany*. From thence he brought new forces, reigned over the whole, and had seats granted to his people within the Empire near the *Rhine*.

And now the *Barbarians* were all quieted, and settled in several kingdoms within the Empire, not only by conquest, but also by the grants of the Emperor *Honorius*. For *Rutilius* in his *Itinerary*, written in Autumn, *Ann. Urbi*,

Urbis 1169, that is, according to *Varro's* computation then in use, A. C. 416, thus laments the wasted fields :

Illa quidem longis nimium deformia bellis ;

And then adds,

*Fam tempus laceris post longa incendia fundis
Vel pastorales ædificare casas.*

And a little after,

Æternum tibi Rhenus aret.

And *Orosius* in the end of his history, which was finished A. C. 417, represents now a general pacification of the barbarous nations by the words *comprimere*, *coangustare*, *addicere gentes immanissimas* ; terming them *imperio addictas*, because they had obtained seats in the Empire by league and compact ; and *coangustatas*, because they did no longer invade all regions at pleasure, but by the same compact remained quiet in the seats then granted them. And these are the kingdoms, of which the feet of the Image were henceforward composed, and which are represented by iron and clay intermixed, which did not stick one to another, and were of different strength.

C H A P.

C H A P. VI.

Of the ten Kingdoms represented by the ten horns of the fourth Beast.

NOW by the wars above described the *Western Empire of the Romans*, about the time that *Rome* was besieged and taken by the *Goths*, became broken into the following ten kingdoms.

1. The kingdom of the *Vandals* and *Alans* in *Spain* and *Africa*.
2. The kingdom of the *Suevians* in *Spain*.
3. The kingdom of the *Visigoths*.
4. The kingdom of the *Alans* in *Gallia*.
5. The kingdom of the *Burgundians*.
6. The kingdom of the *Franks*.
7. The kingdom of the *Britains*.
8. The kingdom of the *Hunns*.
9. The kingdom of the *Lombards*.
10. The kingdom of *Ravenna*.

Seven of these kingdoms are thus mentioned by *Sigonius*. *Honorio regnante, in Pannoniam Hunni, in Hispaniam Vandali, Alani, Suevi & Gothi,*

⁶*Gothi*, in *Galliam* ⁴*Alani* ⁷*Burgundiones* & ⁶*Gothi*,
certis sedibus permiffis, accepti. Add the *Franks*,
Britains, and *Lombards*, and you have the ten:
 for these arose about the same time with the
 seven. But let us view them severally.

1. The Kings of the *Vandals* were, A.C. 407
Godegesilus, 407 *Gunderic*, 426 *Geiseric*, 477
Hunneric, 484 *Gundemund*, 496 *Thrasamund*,
 523 *Geiseric*, 530 *Gelimer*. *Godegesilus* led them
 into *Gallia* A. C. 406, *Gunderic* into *Spain* A. C.
 409, *Geiseric* into *Africa* A. C. 427; and *Geli-*
mer was conquered by *Belisarius* A. C. 533.
 Their kingdom lasted in *Gallia*, *Spain* and *Africa*
 together 126 years; and in *Africa* they were
 very potent. The *Alans* had only two Kings
 of their own in *Spain*, *Resplendial*, and *Ataces*,
Utacus or *Othacar*. Under *Resplendial* they
 went into *France* A. C. 407, and into *Spain*
 A. C. 409. *Ataces* was slain with almost all his
 army by *Vallia* King of the *Visigoths* A. C. 419.
 And then the remainder of these *Alans* subjected
 themselves to *Gunderic* King of the *Vandals* in
Bætica, and went afterwards with them into
Africa, as I learn out of *Procopius*. Whence
 the Kings of the *Vandals* styled themselves Kings
 of the *Vandals* and *Alans*; as may be seen in
 the Edict of *Hunneric* recited by *Victor* in his
Vandalic persecution. In conjunction with the
Chatti,

Chatti, these *Alans* gave the name of *Cathalania*, or *Catth-Alania*, to the Province which is still so called. These *Alans* had also *Gepides* among them; and therefore the *Gepides* came into *Pannonia* before the *Alans* left it. There they became subject to the *Hunns* till the death of *Attila* A. C. 454, and at length were conquered by the *Ostrogoths*.

2. The Kings of the *Suevians* were, A. C. 407 *Ermeric*, 438 *Rechila*, 448 *Rechiarus*, 458 *Maldra*, 460 *Frumarius*, 463 *Regismund*. And after some other Kings who are unknown, reigned A. C. 558 *Theudomir*, 568 *Miro*, 582 *Euboricus*, and 583 *Andeca*. This kingdom, after it had been once seated in *Spain*, remained always in *Gallæcia* and *Lusitania*. *Ermeric* after the fall of the *Alan* kingdom, enlarged it into all *Gallæcia*, forcing the *Vandals* to retire into *Bætica* and the *Carthaginian* Province. This kingdom lasted 177 years according to *Isidorus*, and then was subdued by *Leovigildus* King of the *Visigoths*, and made a Province of his kingdom A. C. 585.

3. The Kings of the *Visigoths* were, A. C. 400 *Alaric*, 410 *Athaulphus*, 415 *Sergeric* and *Vallia*, 419 *Theoderic*, 451 *Thorismund*, 452 *Theoderic*, 465 *Euric*, 482 *Alaric*, 505 *Gensalaric*, 526 *Amalaric*, 531 *Theudius*, 548 *Theudisclus*, &c. I date this kingdom from the time

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that

that *Alaric* left *Thrace* and *Greece* to invade the *Western Empire*. In the end of the reign of *Ataulphus* the *Goths* were humbled by the *Romans*, and attempted to pass out of *France* into *Spain*. *Sergeric* reigned but a few days. In the beginning of *Vallia's* reign they assaulted the *Romans* afresh, but were again repulsed, and then made peace on this condition, that they should on the behalf of the Empire invade the *Barbarian* kingdoms in *Spain*: and this they did, together with the *Romans*, in the years 417 and 418, overthrowing the *Alans* and part of the *Vandals*. Then they received *Aquitain* of the Emperor by a full donation, leaving their conquests in *Spain* to the Emperor: and thereby the seats of the conquered *Alans* came into the hands of the *Romans*. In the year 455, *Theoderic*, assisted by the *Burgundians*, invaded *Spain*, which was then almost all subject to the *Suevians*, and took a part of it from them. A. C. 506, the *Goths* were driven out of *Gallia* by the *Franks*. A. C. 585, they conquered the *Suevian* kingdom, and became Lords of all *Spain*. A. C. 713, the *Saracens* invaded them, but in time they recovered their dominions, and have reigned in *Spain* ever since.

4. The Kings of the *Alans* in *Gallia* were *Goar*, *Sambida*, *Eocharic*, *Sangibanus*, *Beurgus*, &c. Under *Goar* they invaded *Gallia* A. C. 407, and

and had seats given them near the *Rhine*, A. C. 412. Under *Sambida*, whom *Bucher* makes the successor, if not the son of *Goar*, they had the territories of *Valence* given them by *Ætius* the Emperor's General, A. C. 440. Under *Eocharic* they conquered a region of the rebelling *Galli Arborici*, given them also by *Ætius*. This region was from them named *Alenconium*, *quasi Alano-rum conventus*. Under *Sangibanus* they were invaded, and their regal city *Orleans* was besieged by *Attila* King of the *Hunns*, with a vast army of 500000 men. *Ætius* and the *Barbarian* Kings of *Gallia* came to raise the siege, and beat the *Hunns* in a very memorable battle, A. C. 451, in *campis Catalaunicis*, so called from these *Alans* mixt with the *Chatti*. The region is now called *Campania* or *Champagne*. In that battle were slain on both sides 162000 men. A year or two after, *Attila* returned with an immense army to conquer this kingdom, but was again beaten by them and the *Visigoths* together in a battle of three days continuance, with a slaughter almost as great as the former. Under *Beurgus*, or *Biorgor*, they infested *Gallia* round about, till the reign of *Maximus* the Emperor; and then they passed the *Alps* in winter, and came into *Liguria*, but were there beaten, and *Beurgus* slain, by *Ricimer* commander of the Emperor's forces, A. C. 464. Afterwards they

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were

were again beaten, by the joint force of *Odoacer* King of *Italy* and *Childeric* King of the *Franks*, about the year 480, and again by *Theudobert* King of the *Austrian Franks* about the year 511.

5. The Kings of the *Burgundians* were, A. C. 407 *Gundicar*, 436 *Gundioc*, 467 *Bilimer*, 473 *Gundobaldus* with his brothers, 510 *Sigismund*, 517 *Godomarus*. Under *Gundicar* they invaded *Gallia* A. C. 407, and had seats given them by the Emperor near the *Rhine* in *Gallia Belgica*, A. C. 412. They had *Saxons* among them, and were now so potent, that *Orosius* A. C. 417 wrote of them: *Burgundionum esse prævalidam manum, Galliæ hodieque testes sunt, in quibus præsumpta possessione consistunt*. About the year 435 they received great overthrows by *Ætius*, and soon after by the *Hunns*: but five years after had *Savoy* granted them to be shared with the inhabitants; and from that time became again a potent kingdom, being bounded by the river *Rhodanus*, but afterwards extending much further into the heart of *Gallia*. *Gundobald* conquered the regions about the rivers *Araris* and *Rhodanus*, with the territories of *Marseilles*; and invading *Italy* in the time of the Emperor *Glycerius*, conquered all his brethren. *Godomarus* made *Orleans* his royal seat: whence the kingdom was called *Regnum Aurelianorum*. He was conquered by *Clotharius* and *Childebert*, Kings of the *Franks*,

Franks, A. C. 526. From thenceforward this kingdom was sometimes united to the kingdom of the *Franks*, and sometimes divided from it, till the reign of *Charles* the great, who made his son *Carolottus* King of *Burgundy*. From that time, for about 300 years together, it enjoyed its proper Kings; and was then broken into the Dukedom of *Burgundy*, County of *Burgundy*, and County of *Savoy*; and afterwards those were broken into other lesser Counties.

6. The Kings of the *Franks* were, A. C. 407 *Theudomir*, 417 *Pharamond*, 428 *Clodio*, 448 *Merovæus*, 456 *Childeric*, 482 *Clodovæus*, &c. *Windeline* and *Bucher*, two of the most diligent searchers into the originals of this kingdom, make it begin the same year with the *Barbarian* invasions of *Gallia*, that is, A. C. 407. Of the first Kings there is in *Labbe's Bibliotheca M.S.* this record.

Historica quædam excerpta ex veteri stemmate genealogico Regum Franciæ.

Genobaldus, Marcomerus, Suno, Theodemeris. Isti duces vel reguli extiterunt à principio gentis Francorum diversis temporibus. Sed incertum relinquunt historici quali sibi procreations lineâ successerunt.

Pharamundus: sub hoc rege suo primo Franci legibus se subdunt, quas primores eorum tulerunt Wisogastus, Atrogastus, Salegastus.

2 *Chlochilo.*

Chlochilo. Iste, transito Rheno, Romanos in Carbonaria sylva devicit, Camaracum cepit & obtinuit, annis 20 regnavit. Sub hoc rege Franci usque Summam progressi sunt.

Merovechus. Sub hoc rege Franci Trevirim destruunt, Metim succendunt, usque Aurelianum perveniunt.

Now for *Genobaldus*, *Marcomer* and *Suno*, they were captains of the *Transrhenane Franks* in the reign of *Theodosius*, and concern us not. We are to begin with *Theudomir* the first King of the rebelling *Salii*, called *Didio* by *Ivo Carnotensis*, and *Thiedo* and *Theudemerus* by *Rhenanus*. His face is extant in a coin of gold found with this inscription, *THEUDEMIR REX*, published by *Petavius*, and still or lately extant, as *Windeline* testifies: which shews that he was a King, and that in *Gallia*; seeing that rude *Germany* understood not then the coining of money, nor used either *Latin* words or letters. He was the son of *Ricimer*, or *Richomer*, the favourite of the Emperor *Theodosius*; and so being a *Roman Frank*, and of the *Salian* royal blood, they therefore upon the rebellion made him King. The whole time of his reign you have stated in *Excerptis Gregorii Turonensis à Fredigario, cap. 5, 6, 7, 8.* where the making him King, the tyranny of *Jovinus*, the slaughter of the associates of *Jovinus*, the second taking of *Triers* by the *Franks*, and their war with *Castinus*, in which
this

this King was slain, are as a series of successive things thus set down in order. *Extinctis Ducibus in Francis, denuo Reges creantur ex eadem stirpe qua prius fuerant. Eodem tempore Jovinus ornatus regios assumpsit. Constantinus fugam versus Italiam dirigit; missis a Jovino Principe percussoribus super Mentio flumine, capite truncatur. Multi nobilium jussu Jovini apud Avernis capti, & a ducibus Honorii crudeliter interempti sunt. Trevirorum civitas, factione unius ex senatoribus nomine Lucii, à Francis capta & incensa est.*—Castinus Domesticorum Comes expeditionem accipit contra Francos, &c. Then returning to speak of *Theudomir*, he adds: *Franci electum à se regem, sicut prius fuerat, crinitum inquirentes diligenter ex genere Priami, Frigi & Francionis, super se crearunt nomine Theudemerum filium Richemeris, qui in hoc prælio quod supra memini, à Romanis interfectus est; that is, in the battle with Castinus's army. Of his death Gregory Turonensis makes this further mention: In consularibus legimus Theodemerem regem Francorum filium Ricimeris quondam, & Ascilam matrem ejus, gladio interfectos.*

Upon this victory of the Romans, the Franks and rebelling Gauls, who in the time of *Theudomir* were at war with one another, united to strengthen themselves, as *Ordericus Vitalis*

Apud Bucherum, l.
14. c. 9. n. 8.

Vitalis thus mentions. *Cum Galli prius contra Romanos rebellâssent, Franci iis sociati sunt, & pariter juncti, Ferramundum Sunonis ducis filium, sibi regem præfecerunt.* *Prosper* sets down the time; *Anno 25 Honorii, Pharamundus regnat in Francia.* This, *Bucher* well observes, refers to the end of the year 416, or the beginning of the next year, dating the years of *Honorius* from the death of *Valentinian*; and argues well, that at this time *Pharamond* was not only King by the constitution of the *Franks*, but crowned also by the consent of *Honorius*, and had a part of *Gallia* assigned him by covenant. And this might be the cause that *Roman* writers reckoned him the first King: which some not understanding, have reputed him the founder of this kingdom by an army of the *Transrhene Franks*. He might come with such an army, but he succeeded *Theudomir* by right of blood and consent of the people. For the above cited passage of *Fredigarius, Extinctis Ducibus, in Francis denuo Reges creantur ex eadem stirpe quâ prius fuerant*, implies that the kingdom continued to this new elected family during the reign of more Kings than one. If you date the years of *Honorius* from the death of his father, the reign of *Pharamond* might begin two years later than is assigned by *Bucher*. The *Salique* laws made in his reign,

reign, which are yet extant, shew by their name that it was the kingdom of the *Salii* over which he reigned; and, by the pecuniary mulcts in them, that the place where he reigned abounded much with money, and consequently was within the Empire; rude *Germany* knowing not the use of money, till they mixed with the *Romans*. In the Preface also to the *Salique* laws, written and prefixed to them soon after the conversion of the *Franks* to the Christian religion, that is, in the end of the reign of *Merovæus*, or soon after, the original of this kingdom is thus described: *Hæc enim gens, quæ fortis dum esset & robore valida, Romanorum jugum durissimum de suis cervicibus excussit pugnando, &c.* This kingdom therefore was erected, not by invasion but by rebellion, as was described above. *Prosper* in registering their Kings in order, tells us: *Pharamundus regnat in Francia; Clodio regnat in Francia; Merovæus regnat in Francia:* and who can imagine but that in all these places he meant one and the same *Francia*? And yet 'tis certain that the *Francia* of *Merovæus* was in *Gallia*.

Yet the father of *Pharamond*, being king of a body of *Franks* in *Germany* in the reign of the Emperor *Theodosius*, as above, *Pharamond* might reign over the same *Franks* in *Germany* before he succeeded *Theudomir* in the kingdom

of the *Salians* within the Empire, and even before *Theudomir* began his reign; suppose in the first year of *Honorius*, or when those *Franks* being repulsed by *Stilico*, lost their Kings *Marcomir* and *Suno*, one of which was the father of *Pharamond*: and the *Roman Franks*, after the death of *Theudomir*, might invite *Pharamond* with his people from beyond the *Rhine*. But we are not to regard the reign of *Pharamond* in *Germany*: we are to date this kingdom from its rise within the Empire, and to look upon it as strengthened by the access of other *Franks* coming from beyond the *Rhine*, whether in the reign of this King or in that of his successor *Clodio*. For in the last year of *Pharamond*'s reign, *Ætius* took from him a part of his possession in *Gallia*: but his successor *Clodio*, whom *Fredigarius* represents as the son of *Theudomir*, and some call *Clogio*, *Cloio*, and *Claudius*, inviting from beyond the *Rhine* a great body of *Franks*, recovered all, and carried on their conquests as far as the river *Soame*. Then those *Franks* dividing conquests with him, erected certain new kingdoms at *Cologne* and *Cambray*, and some other cities: all which were afterwards conquered by *Clodovæus*, who also drove the *Goths* out of *Gallia*, and fix'd his seat at *Paris*, where it has continued ever since. And this was the original of the present kingdom of *France*.

7. The Kings of *Britain* were, A. C. 407 or 408, *Marcus*, *Gratian*, and *Constantine* successively; A. C. 425 *Vortigern*, 466 *Aurelius Ambrosius*, 498 *Uther Pendraco*, 508 *Arthur*, 542 *Constantinus*, 545 *Aurelius Cunanus*, 578 *Vortiporeus*, 581 *Malgo*, 586 *Careticus*, 613 *Cadwan*, 635 *Cadwalin*, 676 *Cadwallader*. The three first were *Roman Tyrants*, who revolted from the Empire. *Orosius*, *Prosper* and *Zosimus* connect their revolt with the irruptions of the *Barbarians* into *Gallia*, as consequent thereunto. *Prosper*, with whom *Zosimus* agrees, puts it in the year which began the day after that irruption. The just time I thus collect: *Marcus* reigned not many days, *Gratian* four months, and *Constantine* three years. He was slain the year after the taking of *Rome*, that is A. C. 411, 14 Kal. *Octob.* Whence the revolt was in Spring A. C. 408. *Sozomen* joins *Constantine's* expedition into *Gallia* with *Arcadius's* death, or the times a little after; and *Arcadius* died A. C. 408 *May* the 11th. Now tho the reign of these *Tyrants* was but short, yet they gave a beginning to the kingdom of *Britain*, and so may be reckoned the three first Kings, especially since the posterity of *Constantine*, viz. his sons *Aurelius Ambrosius*, and *Uther Pendraco*, and his grandson *Arthur*, reigned afterwards. For from the time of the revolt of these *Tyrants* *Britain*

continued a distinct kingdom absolved from subjection to the Empire, the Emperor not being able to spare soldiers to be sent thither to receive and keep the Island, and therefore neglecting it; as we learn by unquestionable records. For *Prosper* tells us; *A. C. 410, Variane Cos. Hac tempestate præ valetudine Romanorum, vires funditus attenuatæ Britannia.* And *Sigebert*, conjoining this with the siege of *Rome*, saith: *Britannorum vires attenuatæ, & subtrahunt se à Romanorum dominatione.* And *Zosimus lib. 6.* *The Transrhenane Barbarians invading all places, reduced the inhabitants of the island of Britain, and also certain Celtic nations to that pass, that they fell off from the Roman Empire; and being no longer obedient to the Roman laws,* *καὶ ἐαυτὸν βιάσθεν,* *they lived in separate bodies after their own pleasure.* The Britons therefore taking up arms, and hazarding themselves for their own safety, freed their cities from the imminent Barbarians. In like manner all *Brabant* and some other Provinces of the Gauls imitating the Britons, freed themselves also, ejecting the Roman Presidents, and forming themselves into a sort of commonwealth according to their own pleasure. This rebellion of Britain and the Celtic nations happened when *Constantine* usurped the kingdom. So also *Procopius, lib. 1. Vandal.* speaking of the same *Constantine*, saith:

faith: Constantine being overcome in battle, was
slain with his children: Βρεταννίαν μὲν τοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι
 ἀνασάσασθαι ἐκέλευον, ἀλλ' ἔσται ὑπὸ τυραννίδος ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔμεινε.
Yet the Romans could not recover Britain any
more, but from that time it remained under
Tyrants. And Beda, l. 1. c. 11. Fracta est
Roma à Gothis anno 1164 suæ conditionis; ex
quo tempore Romani in Britannia regnare cessa-
verunt. And Ethelwaldus: A tempore Romæ
à Gothis expugnatae, cessavit imperium Romano-
rum à Britannia insula, & ab aliis, quas sub
jugo servitutis tenebant, multis terris. And
Theodoret, serm. 9. de curand. Græc. affect. a-
bout the year 424, reckons the Britons among
the nations which were not then in subjection
to the Roman Empire. Thus Sigonius: ad annum
411, Imperium Romanorum post excessum Con-
stantini in Britannia nullum fuit.

Between the death of *Constantine* and the reign
 of *Vortigern* was an interregnum of about 14
 years, in which the *Britons* had wars with the
Picts and *Scots*, and twice obtained the assistance
 of a *Roman* Legion, who drove out the enemy,
 but told them positively at their departure that
 they would come no more. Of *Vortigern's* be-
 ginning to reign there is this record in an old
 Chronicle in *Nennius*, quoted by *Camden* and
 others: *Guortigernus tenuit imperium in Bri-*
tannia, Theodosio & Valentiniano Coss. [viz.
A. C.

A. C. 425.] & in quarto anno regni sui Saxones ad Britanniam venerunt, Felice & Tauro Coss. [viz. A. C. 428.] This coming of the Saxons, Sigebert refers to the 4th year of Valentinian, which falls in with the year 428 assigned by this Chronicle: and two years after, the Saxons together with the *Picts* were beaten by the *Britons*. Afterwards in the reign of *Martian* the Emperor, that is, between the years 450 and 456, the Saxons under *Hengist* were called in by the *Britons*, but six years after revolted from them, made war upon them with various success, and by degrees succeeded them. Yet the *Britons* continued a flourishing kingdom till the reign of *Careticus*; and the war between the two nations continued till the pontificate of *Sergius* A. C. 688.

Rolevins's
Antiqua
Saxon. l. i.
c. 6.

8. The Kings of the *Hunns* were, A. C. 406 *Octar* and *Rugila*, 433 *Bleda* and *Attila*. *Octar* and *Rugila* were the brothers of *Munzuc* King of the *Hunns* in *Gothia* beyond the *Danube*; and *Bleda* and *Attila* were his sons, and *Munzuc* was the son of *Balamir*. The two first, as *Jornandes* tells us, were Kings of the *Hunns*, but not of them all; and had the two last for their successors. I date the reign of the *Hunns* in *Pannonia* from the time that the *Vandals* and *Alans* relinquished *Pannonia* to them, A. C. 407. *Sigonius* from the time that the *Visigoths*

Visigoths relinquished *Pannonia* A. C. 408. *Constat*, saith he, *quod Gothis ex Illyrico profectis, Hunni successerunt, atque imprimis Pannoniam tenuerunt. Neque enim Honorius viribus ad resistendum in tantis difficultatibus destitutus, prorsus eos prohibere potuit, sed meliore consilio, animo ad pacem converso, fœdus cum eis, datis acceptisque obsidibus fecit; ex quibus qui dati sunt, Ætius, qui etiam Alarico tributus fuerat, præcipue memoratur.* How Ætius was hostage to the *Goths* and *Hunns* is related by *Frigeridus*, who when he had mentioned that *Theodosius* Emperor of the *East* had sent grievous commands to *John*, who after the death of *Honorius* had usurped the crown of the *Western Empire*, he subjoins: *Iis permotus Johannes, Ætium id tempus curam palatii gerentem cum ingenti auri pondere ad Chunnos transmisit, notos sibi obsidiatus sui tempore & familiari amicitia devinctos*—And a little after: *Ætius tribus annis Alarici obses, dehinc Chunnorum, postea Carpilionis gener ex Comite domesticorum & Joannis curopalatæ.* Now *Bucher* shews that Ætius was hostage to *Alaric* till the year 410, when *Alaric* died, and to the *Hunns* between the years 411 and 415, and son-in-law to *Carpilio* about the year 417 or 418, and *Curopalates* to *John* about the end of the year 423. Whence 'tis probable that he became hostage to
the

the *Hunns* about the year 412 or 413, when *Honorius* made leagues with almost all the barbarous nations, and granted them seats: but I had rather say with *Sigonius*, that *Ætius* became hostage to *Alaric* A. C. 403. It is further manifest out of *Prosper*, that the *Hunns* were in quiet possession of *Pannonia* in the year 432. For in the first book of *Eusebius's* Chronicle *Prosper* writes: *Anno decimo post obitum Honorii, cum ad Chunnorum gentem cui tunc Rugila præerat, post prælium cum Bonifacio se Ætius contulisset, impetrato auxilio ad Romanorum solum regreditur.* And in the second book: *Ætio & Valerio Coss. Ætius depositâ potestate profugus ad Hunnos in Pannonia pervenit, quorum amicitia auxilioque usus, pacem principum interpellatæ potestatis obtinuit.* Hereby it appears that at this time *Rugila*, or as *Maximus* calls him, *Rechilla*, reigned over the *Hunns* in *Pannonia*; and that *Pannonia* was not now so much as accounted within the soil of the Empire, being formerly granted away to the *Hunns*; and that these were the very same body of *Hunns* with which *Ætius* had, in the time of his being an hostage, contracted friendship: by virtue of which, as he solicited them before to the aid of *John* the Tyrant A. C. 424, so now he procured their intercession for himself with the Emperor. *Oëtar* died A. C. 430; for *Socrates* tells us, that
about

about that time the *Burgundians* having been newly vext by the *Hunns*, upon intelligence of *Octar's* death, seeing them without a leader, set upon them suddenly with so much vigour, that 3000 *Burgundians* slew 10000 *Hunns*. Of *Rugila's* being now King in *Pannonia* you have heard already. He died A. C. 433, and was succeeded by *Bleda*, as *Prosper* and *Maximus* inform us. This *Bleda* with his brother *Attila* were before this time Kings of the *Hunns* beyond the *Danube*, their father *Munzuc's* kingdom being divided between them; and now they united the kingdom of *Pannonia* to their own. Whence *Paulus Diaconus* saith, they did *regnum intra Pannoniam Daciamque gerere*. In the year 441, they began to invade the Empire afresh, adding to the *Pannonian* forces new and great armies from *Scythia*. But this war was presently composed, and then *Attila*, seeing *Bleda* inclined to peace, slew him, A. C. 444, inherited his dominions, and invaded the Empire again. At length, after various great wars with the *Romans*, *Attila* perished A. C. 454; and his sons quarrelling about his dominions, gave occasion to the *Gepides*, *Ostrogoths* and other nations who were their subjects, to rebel and make war upon them. The same year the *Ostrogoths* had seats granted them in *Pannonia* by the Emperors *Marcian* and *Valentinian*; and with the *Romans*

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ejected the *Hunns* out of *Pannonia*, soon after the death of *Attila*, as all historians agree. This ejection was in the reign of *Avitus*, as is mentioned in the *Chronicum Boiorum*, and in *Sidonius*, *Carm. 7 in Avitum*, which speaks thus of that Emperor.

—Cujus solum amissas post sæcula multa
Pannonias revocavit iter, jam credere promp-
Quid faciet bellis. (tum est

The Poet means, that by the coming of *Avitus* the *Hunns* yielded more easily to the *Goths*. This was written by *Sidonius* in the beginning of the reign of *Avitus*: and his reign began in the end of the year 455, and lasted not one full year.

Jornandes tells us: *Duodecimo anno regni Valiæ, quando & Hunni post pene quinquaginta annos invasa Pannonia, à Romanis & Gothis expulsi sunt.* And *Marcellinus*: *Hierio & Ardaburio Coss. Pannoniæ, quæ per quinquaginta annos ab Hunnis retinebantur, à Romanis receptæ sunt*: whence it should seem that the *Hunns* invaded and held *Pannonia* from the year 378 or 379 to the year 427, and then were driven out of it. But this is a plain mistake: for it is certain that the Emperor *Theodosius* left the Empire entire; and we have shewed out of *Prosper*, that the

the *Hunns* were in quiet possession of *Pannonia* in the year 432. The *Visigoths* in those days had nothing to do with *Pannonia*, and the *Ostrogoths* continued subject to the *Hunns* till the death of *Attila*, A. C. 454; and *Valia* King of the *Visigoths* did not reign twelve years. He began his reign in the end of the year 415, reigned three years, and was slain A. C. 419, as *Idacius*, *Isidorus*, and the *Spanish* manuscript *Chronicles* seen by *Grotius* testify. And *Olympiodorus*, who carries his history only to the year 425, sets down therein the death of *Valia* King of the *Visigoths*, and conjoins it with that of *Constantius* which happened A. C. 420. Wherefore the *Valia* of *Jornandes*, who reigned at the least twelve years, is some other King. And I suspect that this name hath been put by mistake for *Valamir* King of the *Ostrogoths*: for the action recorded was of the *Romans* and *Ostrogoths* driving the *Hunns* out of *Pannonia* after the death of *Attila*; and it is not likely that the historian would refer the history of the *Ostrogoths* to the years of the *Visigothic* Kings. This action happened in the end of the year 455, which I take to be the twelfth year of *Valamir* in *Pannonia*, and which was almost fifty years after the year 406, in which the *Hunns* succeeded the *Vandals* and *Alans* in *Pannonia*. Upon the ceasing of the line of *Hunni-*

mund the son of *Hermaneric*, the *Ostrogoths* lived without Kings of their own nation about forty years together, being subject to the *Hunns*. And when *Alaric* began to make war upon the *Romans*, which was in the year 444, he made *Valamir*, with his brothers *Theodomir* and *Videmir* the grandsons of *Vinethar*, captains or kings of these *Ostrogoths* under him. In the twelfth year of *Valamir*'s reign dated from thence, the *Hunns* were driven out of *Pannonia*.

Yet the *Hunns* were not so ejected, but that they had further contests with the *Romans*, till the head of *Denfix* the son of *Attila*, was carried to *Constantinople*, A. C. 469, in the Consulship of *Zeno* and *Marcian*, as *Marcellinus* relates. Nor were they yet totally ejected the Empire: for besides their reliques in *Pannonia*, *Sigonius* tells us, that when the Emperors *Marcian* and *Valentinian* granted *Pannonia* to the *Goths*, which was in the year 454, they granted part of *Illyricum* to some of the *Hunns* and *Sarmatians*. And in the year 526, when the *Lombards* removing into *Pannonia* made war there with the *Gepides*, the *Avars*, a part of the *Hunns*, who had taken the name of *Avars* from one of their Kings, assisted the *Lombards* in that war; and the *Lombards* afterwards, when they went into *Italy*, left their seats in *Pannonia* to the *Avars* in recompence of their friendship.

From

From that time the *Hunns* grew again very powerful; their Kings, whom they called *Chagan*, troubling the Empire much in the reigns of the Emperors *Mauritius*, *Phocas*, and *Heraclius*: and this is the original of the present kingdom of *Hungary*, which from these *Avares* and other *Hunns* mixed together, took the name of *Hun-Avaria*, and by contraction *Hungary*.

9. The *Lombards*, before they came over the *Danube*, were commanded by two captains, *Ibor* and *Ayon*: after whose death they had Kings, *Agilmund*, *Lamisso*, *Lechu*, *Hildehoc*, *Gudehoc*, *Claffo*, *Tato*, *Wacko*, *Walter*, *Audoin*, *Alboin*, *Cleophis*, &c. *Agilmund* was the son of *Ayon*, who became their King, according to *Prosper*, in the Consulship of *Honorius* and *Theodosius* A. C. 389, reigned thirty three years, according to *Paulus Warnefridus*, and was slain in battle by the *Bulgarians*. *Prosper* places his death in the Consulship of *Marinianus* and *Asclepiodorus*, A. C. 423. *Lamisso* routed the *Bulgarians*, and reigned three years, and *Lechu* almost forty. *Gudehoc* was contemporary to *Odoacer* King of the *Heruli* in *Italy*, and led his people from *Pannonia* into *Rugia*, a country on the north side of *Noricum* next beyond the *Danube*; from whence *Odoacer* then carried his people into *Italy*. *Tato* overthrew the kingdom of the *Heruli* beyond the *Danube*.

Wacko

Wacho conquered the *Suevians*, a kingdom then bounded on the east by *Bavaria*, on the west by *France*, and on the south by the *Burgundians*. *Audoin* returned into *Pannonia* A. C. 526, and there overcame the *Gepides*. *Alboin* A. C. 551 overthrew the kingdom of the *Gepides*, and slew their King *Chunnimund*: A. C. 563 he assisted the *Greek* Emperor against *Totila* King of the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy*; and A. C. 568 led his people out of *Pannonia* into *Lombardy*, where they reigned till the year 774.

According to *Paulus Diaconus*, the *Lombards* with many other *Gothic* nations came into the Empire from beyond the *Danube* in the reign of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, that is, between the years 395 and 408. But they might come in a little earlier: for we are told that the *Lombards*, under their captains *Ibor* and *Ayon*, beat the *Vandals* in battle; and *Prosper* placeth this victory in the Consulship of *Ausonius* and *Olybrius*, that is, A. C. 379. Before this war the *Vandals* had remained quiet forty years in the seats granted them in *Pannonia* by *Constantine* the great. And therefore if these were the same *Vandals*, this war must have been in *Pannonia*; and might be occasioned by the coming of the *Lombards* over the *Danube* into *Pannonia*, a year or two before the battle; and so have put an end to that quiet which had lasted forty years.

years. After *Gratian* and *Theodosius* had quieted the *Barbarians*, they might either retire over the *Danube*, or continue quiet under the *Romans* till the death of *Theodosius*; and then either invade the Empire anew, or throw off all subjection to it. By their wars, first with the *Vandals*, and then with the *Bulgarians*, a *Scythian* nation so called from the river *Volga* whence they came; it appears that even in those days they were a kingdom not contemptible.

10. These nine kingdoms being rent away, we are next to consider the residue of the *Western Empire*. While this Empire continued entire, it was the Beast itself: but the residue thereof is only a part of it. Now if this part be considered as a horn, the reign of this horn may be dated from the translation of the imperial seat from *Rome* to *Ravenna*, which was in *October* A. C. 408. For then the Emperor *Honorius*, fearing that *Alaric* would besiege him in *Rome*, if he staid there, retired to *Millain*, and thence to *Ravenna*: and the ensuing siege and sacking of *Rome* confirmed his residence there, so that he and his successors ever after made it their home. Accordingly *Macchiavel* in his *Florentine* history writes, that *Valentinian* having left *Rome*, translated the seat of the Empire to *Ravenna*.

Rhætia

Rhætia belonged to the *Western* Emperors, so long as that Empire stood; and then it descended, with *Italy* and the *Roman* Senate, to *Odoacer* King of the *Heruli* in *Italy*, and after him to *Theoderic* King of the *Ostrogoths* and his successors, by the grant of the *Greek* Emperors. Upon the death of *Valentinian* the second, the *Alemans* and *Suevians* invaded *Rhætia* A. C. 455. But I do not find they erected any settled kingdom there: for in the year 457, while they were yet depopulating *Rhætia*, they were attacked and beaten by *Burto* Master of the horse to the Emperor *Majoranus*; and I hear nothing more of their invading *Rhætia*. *Clodovæus* King of *France*, in or about the year 496, conquered a kingdom of the *Alemans*, and slew their last King *Ermeric*. But this kingdom was seated in *Germany*, and only bordered upon *Rhætia*: for its people fled from *Clodovæus* into the neighbouring kingdom of the *Ostrogoths* under *Theoderic*, who received them as friends, and wrote a friendly letter to *Clodovæus* in their behalf: and by this means they became inhabitants of *Rhætia*, as subjects under the dominion of the *Ostrogoths*.

When the *Greek* Emperor conquered the *Ostrogoths*, he succeeded them in the kingdom of *Ravenna*, not only by right of conquest but also by right of inheritance, the *Roman* Senate
still

still going along with this kingdom. Therefore we may reckon that this kingdom continued in the Exarchate of *Ravenna* and Senate of *Rome*: for the remainder of the *Western Empire* went along with the Senate of *Rome*, by reason of the right which this Senate still retained, and at length exerted, of chusing a new *Western* Emperor.

I have now enumerated the ten kingdoms, into which the *Western Empire* became divided at its first breaking, that is, at the time of *Rome's* being besieged and taken by the *Goths*. Some of these kingdoms at length fell, and new ones arose: but whatever was their number afterwards, they are still called the *Ten Kings* from their first number.

C H A P. VII.

Of the eleventh horn of Daniel's fourth Beast.

Chap. vii. 8.

NOW Daniel, considered the horns, and behold there came up among them another horn, before whom there were three of the first horns pluckt up by the roots; and behold in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things,—and his look

Ver. 20, 21.

was more stout than his fellows,—and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them: and one who stood by, and made Daniel know the interpretation of these things,

Ver. 24.

told him, that the ten horns were ten kings that should arise, and another should arise after them, and be diverse from the first, and he should subdue three kings, and speak great words against the most High, and wear out the saints, and think to change times and laws: and that they should be given into his hands until a time and times and half a time. Kings are put for king-

Ver. 25.

doms, as above; and therefore the little horn is a little kingdom. It was a horn of the fourth Beast, and rooted up three of his first horns; and

and therefore we are to look for it among the nations of the *Latin* Empire, after the rise of the ten horns. But it was a kingdom of a different kind from the other ten kingdoms, having a life or soul peculiar to itself, with eyes and a mouth. By its eyes it was a Seer; and by its mouth speaking great things and changing times and laws, it was a Prophet as well as a King. And such a Seer, a Prophet and a King, is the Church of *Rome*.

A Seer, Ἐπισκοπος, is a Bishop in the literal sense of the word; and this Church claims the universal Bishoprick.

With his mouth he gives laws to kings and nations as an Oracle; and pretends to Infallibility, and that his dictates are binding to the whole world; which is to be a Prophet in the highest degree.

In the eighth century, by rooting up and subduing the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, the kingdom of the *Lombards*, and the Senate and Dukedom of *Rome*, he acquired *Peter's* Patrimony out of their dominions; and thereby rose up as a temporal Prince or King, or horn of the fourth Beast.

In a small book printed at *Paris* A. C. 1689, entitled, *An historical dissertation upon some coins of Charles the great, Ludovicus Pius, Lotharius, and their successors stamped at Rome,*

it is recorded, that in the days of Pope *Leo X*, there was remaining in the *Vatican*, and till those days exposed to public view, an inscription in honour of *Pipin* the father of *Charles* the great, in these words: *Pipinum pium, primum fuisse qui amplificandæ Ecclesiæ Romanæ viam aperuerit, Exarchatu Ravennate, & plurimis aliis oblati;* “ That *Pipin* the pious was the first who opened
“ a way to the grandeur of the Church of *Rome*,
“ conferring upon her the Exarchate of *Ravenna*
“ and many other oblations.” In and before the reign of the Emperors *Gratian* and *Theodosius*, the Bishop of *Rome* lived splendidly; but this was by the oblations of the *Roman Ladies*, as *Ammianus* describes. After those reigns *Italy* was invaded by foreign nations, and did not get rid of her troubles before the fall of the kingdom of *Lombardy*. It was certainly by the victory of the see of *Rome* over the *Greek* Emperor, the King of *Lombardy*, and the Senate of *Rome*, that she acquired *Peter’s* Patrimony, and rose up to her greatness. The donation of *Constantine* the Great is a fiction, and so is the donation of the *Alpes Cottiae* to the Pope by *Aripert* King of the *Lombards*: for the *Alpes Cottiae* were a part of the Exarchate, and in the days of *Aripert* belonged to the *Greek* Emperor.

The

The invocation of the dead, and veneration of their images, being gradually introduced in the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th centuries, the *Greek* Emperor *Philippicus* declared against the latter, A. C. 711 or 712. And the Emperor *Leo Isaurus*, to put a stop to it, called a meeting of Counsellors and Bishops in his Palace, A. C. 726; and by their advice put out an Edict against that worship, and wrote to Pope *Gregory II.* that a general Council might be called. But the Pope thereupon called a Council at *Rome*, confirmed the worship of Images, excommunicated the *Greek* Emperor, absolved the people from their allegiance, and forbade them to pay tribute, or otherwise be obedient to him. Then the people of *Rome*, *Campania*, *Ravenna* and *Pentapolis*, with the cities under them, revolted and laid violent hands upon their magistrates, killing the Exarch *Paul* at *Ravenna*, and laying aside *Peter* Duke of *Rome* who was become blind: and when *Exhileratus* Duke of *Campania* incited the people against the Pope, the *Romans* invaded *Campania*, and slew him with his son *Hadrian*. Then a new Exarch, *Euty chius*, coming to *Naples*, sent some secretly to take away the lives of the Pope and the Nobles of *Rome*: but the plot being discovered, the *Romans* revolted absolutely from the *Greek* Emperor, and took an oath to preserve the life of the Pope,

Sigonius de
Regno Ita-
liæ, ad Ann.
726.

Pope, to defend his state, and be obedient to his authority in all things. Thus *Rome* with its Duchy, including part of *Tuscany* and part of *Campania*, revolted in the year 726, and became a free state under the government of the Senate of this city. The authority of the Senate in civil affairs was henceforward absolute, the authority of the Pope extending hitherto no farther than to the affairs of the Church only.

Sigonius ib.
ad Ann. 726,
752.

At that time the *Lombards* also being zealous for the worship of images, and pretending to favour the cause of the Pope, invaded the cities of the Exarchate: and at length, viz. A.C. 752, took *Ravenna*, and put an end to the Exarchate. And this was the first of the three kingdoms which fell before the little horn.

Sigon. ib.
Ann. 750.

In the year 751 Pope *Zechary* deposed *Childe-ric*, a slothful and useless King of *France*, and the last of the race of *Merovæus*; and absolving his subjects from their oath of allegiance, gave the kingdom to *Pipin* the major of the Palace; and thereby made a new and potent friend. His successor Pope *Stephen III*, knowing better how to deal with the *Greek* Emperor than with the *Lombards*, went the next year to the King of the *Lombards*, to persuade him to return the Exarchate to the Emperor. But this not succeeding, he went into *France*, and persuaded *Pipin* to take the

Sigon. ib.
Ann. 753,
754, 755.

the Exarchate and *Pentapolis* from the *Lombards*, and give it to *St. Peter*. Accordingly *Pipin* A. C. 754 came with an army into *Italy*, and made *Aistulphus* King of the *Lombards* promise the surrender: but the next year *Aistulphus*, on the contrary, to revenge himself on the Pope, besieged the city of *Rome*. Whereupon the Pope sent letters to *Pipin*, wherein he told him that if he came not speedily against the *Lombards*, *pro data sibi potentia, alienandum fore à regno Dei & vita æterna*, he should be excommunicated. *Pipin* therefore, fearing a revolt of his subjects, and being indebted to the Church of *Rome*, came speedily with an army into *Italy*, raised the siege, besieged the *Lombards* in *Pavia*, and forced them to surrender the Exarchate and region of *Pentapolis* to the Pope for a perpetual possession. Thus the Pope became Lord of *Ravenna*, and the Exarchate, some few cities excepted; and the keys were sent to *Rome*, and laid upon the confession of *St. Peter*, that is, upon his tomb at the high Altar, *in signum veri perpetuique dominii, sed pietate Regis gratuita*, as the inscription of a coin of *Pipin* hath it. This was in the year of Christ 755. And henceforward the Popes being temporal Princes, left off in their Epistles and Bulls to note the years of the *Greek* Emperors, as they had hitherto done.

After

Sigon. ib.
Ann. 773.

After this the *Lombards* invading the Pope's countries, Pope *Adrian* sent to *Charles* the great, the son and successor of *Pipin*, to come to his assistance. Accordingly *Charles* entered *Italy* with an army, invaded the *Lombards*, overthrew their kingdom, became master of their countries, and restored to the Pope, not only what they had taken from him, but also the rest of the Exarchate which they had promised *Pipin* to surrender to him, but had hitherto detained; and also gave him some cities of the *Lombards*, and was in return himself made *Patricius* by the *Romans*, and had the authority of confirming the elections of the Popes conferred upon him. These things were done in the years 773 and 774. This kingdom of the *Lombards* was the second kingdom which fell before the little horn. But *Rome*, which was to be the seat of his kingdom, was not yet his own.

Sigon. de
Regno Ital.
ad Ann. 796.

In the year 796, *Leo III* being made Pope, notified his election to *Charles* the great by his Legates, sending to him for a present, the golden keys of the Confession of *Peter*, and the Banner of the city of *Rome*: the first as an acknowledgment of the Pope's holding the cities of the Exarchate and *Lombardy* by the grant of *Charles*; the other as a signification that *Charles* should come and subdue the Senate and people of *Rome*, as he had done the Exarchate and the
king-

kingdom of the *Lombards*. For the Pope at the same time desired *Charles* to send some of his Princes to *Rome*, who might subject the *Roman* people to him, and bind them by oath *in fide & subjectione*, in fealty and subjection, as his words are recited by *Sigonius*. An anonymous Poet, publish'd by *Boeclerus* at *Strasburg*, expresseth it thus:

*Admonuitque piis precibus, qui mittere vellet
Ex propriis aliquos primoribus, ac sibi plebem
Subdere Romanam, servandaque fœdera cogens
Hanc fidei sacramentis promittere magnis.*

Hence arose a misunderstanding between the Pope and the city: and the *Romans* about two or three years after, by assistance of some of the Clergy, raised such tumults against him, as gave occasion to a new state of things in all the *West*. For two of the Clergy accused him of crimes, and the *Romans* with an armed force, seized him, stript him of his sacerdotal habit, and imprisoned him in a monastery. But by assistance of his friends he made his escape, and fled into *Germany* to *Charles* the great, to whom he complained of the *Romans* for acting against him out of a design to throw off all authority of the Church, and to recover their antient freedom. In his absence his accusers

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with

Vide Anastasium.

with their forces ravaged the possessions of the Church, and sent the accusations to *Charles*; who before the end of the year sent the Pope back to *Rome* with a large retinue. The Nobles and Bishops of *France* who accompanied him, examined the chief of his accusers at *Rome*, and sent them into *France* in custody. This was in the year 799. The next year *Charles* himself went to *Rome*, and upon a day appointed presided in a Council of *Italian* and *French* Bishops to hear both parties. But when the Pope's adversaries expected to be heard, the Council declared that he who was the supreme judge of all men, was above being judged by any other than himself: whereupon he made a solemn declaration of his innocence before all the people, and by doing so was looked upon as acquitted.

Soon after, upon *Christmas*-day, the people of *Rome*, who had hitherto elected their Bishop, and reckoned that they and their Senate inherited the rights of the antient Senate and people of *Rome*, voted *Charles* their Emperor, and subjected themselves to him in such manner as the old *Roman* Empire and their Senate were subjected to the old *Roman* Emperors. The Pope crowned him, and anointed him with holy oil, and worshipped him on his knees after the manner of adoring the old *Roman*.

Roman Emperors; as the aforesaid Poet thus relates :

*Post laudes igitur dictas & summus eundem
Præsul adoravit, sicut mos debitus olim
Principibus fuit antiquis.*

The Emperor, on the other hand, took the following oath to the Pope: *In nomine Christi spondeo atque polliceor, Ego Carolus Imperator coram Deo & beato Petro Apostolo, me protectorem ac defensorem fore hujus sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ in omnibus utilitatibus, quatenus divino fultus fuero adjutorio, prout sciero poteroque.* The Emperor was also made Consul of Rome, and his son Pipin crowned King of Italy: and henceforward the Emperor stiled himself: *Carolus serenissimus, Augustus, à Deo coronatus, magnus, pacificus, Romæ gubernans imperium, or Imperator Romanorum*; and was prayed for in the Churches of Rome. His image was henceforward put upon the coins of Rome: while the enemies of the Pope, to the number of three hundred Romans and two or three of the Clergy, were sentenced to death. The three hundred Romans were beheaded in one day in the *Lateran* fields: but the Clergymen at the intercession of the Pope were pardoned, and

banished into *France*. And thus the title of *Roman* Emperor, which had hitherto been in the *Greek* Emperors, was by this act transferred in the *West* to the Kings of *France*.

Sigon. de
Regno Ital.

After these things *Charles* gave the City and Duchy of *Rome* to the Pope, subordinately to himself as Emperor of the *Romans*; spent the winter in ordering the affairs of *Rome*, and those of the Apostolic see, and of all *Italy*, both civil and ecclesiastical, and in making new laws for them; and returned the next summer into *France*: leaving the city under its Senate, and both under the Pope and himself. But hearing that his new laws were not observed by the judges in dictating the law, nor by the people in hearing it; and that the great men took servants from free men, and from the Churches and Monasteries, to labour in their vineyards, fields, pastures and houses, and continued to exact cattle and wine of them, and to oppress those that served the Churches: he wrote to his son *Pipin* to remedy these abuses, to take care of the Church, and see his laws executed.

Now the Senate and people and principality of *Rome* I take to be the third King the little horn overcame, and even the chief of the three. For this people elected the Pope and the Emperor; and now, by electing the Emperor and making him Consul, was acknowledged to retain

retain the authority of the old *Roman* Senate and people. This city was the Metropolis of the old *Roman* Empire, represented in *Daniel* by the fourth Beast; and by subduing the Senate and people and Duchy, it became the Metropolis of the little horn of that Beast, and completed *Peter's* Patrimony, which was the kingdom of that horn. Besides, this victory was attended with greater consequences than those over the other two Kings. For it set up the *Western Empire*, which continues to this day. It set up the Pope above the judicature of the *Roman* Senate, and above that of a Council of *Italian* and *French* Bishops, and even above all human judicature; and gave him the supremacy over the *Western* Churches and their Councils in a high degree. It gave him a look more stout than his fellows; so that when this new religion began to be established in the minds of men, he grappled not only with Kings, but even with the *Western* Emperor himself. It is observable also, that the custom of kissing the Pope's feet, an honour superior to that of Kings and Emperors, began about this time. There are some instances of it in the ninth century: *Platina* tells us, that the feet of Pope *Leo* IV were kissed, according to antient custom, by all who came to him: and some say that *Leo* III began this custom, pretending that his hand was infected by the
2 kifs

kiss of a woman. The Popes began also about this time to canonize saints, and to grant indulgences and pardons: and some represent that *Leo III* was the first author of all these things. It is further observable, that *Charles* the great, between the years 775 and 796, conquered all *Germany* from the *Rhine* and *Danube* northward to the *Baltic* sea, and eastward to the river *Teis*; extending his conquests also into *Spain* as far as the river *Ebro*: and by these conquests he laid the foundation of the new Empire; and at the same time propagated the *Roman* Catholic religion into all his conquests, obliging the *Saxons* and *Hunns* who were heathens, to receive the *Roman* faith, and distributing his northern conquests into Bishopricks, granting tithes to the Clergy and *Peter-pence* to the Pope: by all which the Church of *Rome* was highly enlarged, enriched, exalted, and established.

In the forementioned *dissertation upon some coins of Charles the great*, *Ludovicus Pius*, *Lotharius*, and their successors, stamped at *Rome*, there is a draught of a piece of *Mosaic* work which Pope *Leo III.* caused to be made in his Palace near the Church of *John Lateran*, in memory of his sending the standard or banner of the city of *Rome* curiously wrought, to *Charles* the great; and which still remained there at the publishing of

of the said book. In the *Mosaic* work there appeared *Peter* with three keys in his lap, reaching the *Pallium* to the Pope with his right hand, and the banner of the city to *Charles* the great with his left. By the Pope was this inscription, SCISSIMUS D.N. LEO PP; by the King this, D.N. CARVLO REGI; and under the feet of *Peter* this, BEATE PETRE, DONA VITAM LEONI PP, ET BICTORIAM CARVLO REGI DONA. This Monument gives the title of King to *Charles*, and therefore was erected before he was Emperor. It was erected when *Peter* was reaching the *Pallium* to the Pope, and the Pope was sending the banner of the city to *Charles*, that is, A. C. 796. The words above, *Sanctissimus Dominus noster Leo Papa Domino nostro Carolo Regi*, relate to the message; and the words below, *Beate Petre, dona vitam Leoni Papæ & victoriam. Carolo regi dona*, are a prayer that in this undertaking God would preserve the life of the Pope, and give victory to the King over the *Romans*. The three keys in the lap of *Peter* signify the keys of the three parts of his Patrimony, that of *Rome* with its Duchy, which the Pope claimed and was conquering, those of *Ravenna* with the Exarchate, and of the territories

tories taken from the *Lombards*; both which he had newly conquered. These were the three dominions, whose keys were in the lap of St. *Peter*, and whose Crowns are now worn by the Pope, and by the conquest of which he became the little horn of the fourth Beast. By *Peter's* giving the *Pallium* to the Pope with his right hand, and the banner of the city to the King with his left, and by naming the Pope before the King in the inscription, may be understood that the Pope was then reckoned superior in dignity to the Kings of the earth.

Confirma-
tionem reci-
tat Sigonius,
lib. 4. de
Regno Ita-
liæ, ad An.
817.

After the death of *Charles* the great, his son and successor *Ludovicus Pius*, at the request of the Pope, confirmed the donations of his grandfather and father to the see of *Rome*. And in the confirmation he names first *Rome* with its Duchy extending into *Tuscany* and *Campania*; then the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, with *Pentapolis*; and in the third place, the territories taken from the *Lombards*. These are his three conquests, and he was to hold them of the Emperor for the use of the Church *sub integritate*, entirely, without the Emperor's meddling therewith, or with the jurisdiction or power of the Pope therein, unless called thereto in certain cases. This ratification the Emperor *Ludovicus* made under an oath: and as the King of the *Ostrogoths*, for acknowledging that he

he held his kingdom of *Italy* of the *Greek* Emperor, stamped the effigies of the Emperor on one side of his coins and his own on the reverse; so the Pope made the like acknowledgment to the *Western* Emperor. For the Pope began now to coin money, and the coins of *Rome* are henceforward found with the heads of the Emperors, *Charles, Ludovicus Pius, Lotharius*, and their successors, on the one side, and the Pope's inscription on the reverse, for many years.

N CHAP.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the power of the eleventh horn of Daniel's fourth Beast, to change times and laws.

IN the reign of the Greek Emperor Justinian, and again in the reign of Phocas, the Bishop of Rome obtained some dominion over the Greek Churches, but of no long continuance. His standing dominion was only over the nations of the Western Empire, represented by Daniel's fourth Beast. And this jurisdiction was set up by the following Edict of the Emperors Gratian and Valentinian.—

See the Annals of Baronius, Anno 381. Sect. 6.

Volumus ut quicumque judicio Damasi, quod ille cum Concilio quinque vel septem habuerit Episcoporum, vel eorum qui Catholici sunt judicio vel Concilio condemnatus fuerit, si juste voluerit Ecclesiam retentare, ut qui ad sacerdotale judicium per contumeliam non ivisset: ut ab illustribus viris Præfectis Prætorio Galliæ atque Italiæ, auctoritate adhibitâ, ad Episcopale judicium remittatur, sive à Consularibus vel Vicariis, ut ad Urbem Romam sub prosecutione perveniat. Aut si in longinquioribus partibus alicu-

alicujus ferocitas talis emerferit, omnis ejus causæ edictio ad Metropolitæ in eadem Provincia Episcopi deduceretur examen. Vel si ipse Metropolitanus est, Romam necessario, vel ad eos quos Romanus Episcopus judices dederit, sine delatione contendat. — Quod si vel Metropolitanus Episcopi vel cujuscunque sacerdotis iniquitas est suspecta, aut gratia; ad Romanum Episcopum, vel ad Concilium quindecim finitimorum Episcoporum accersitum liceat provocare; modo ne post examen habitum, quod definitum fuerit, integretur. This Edict wanting the name of both *Valens* and *Theodosius* in the Title, was made in the time between their reigns, that is, in the end of the year 378, or the beginning of 379. It was directed to the *Præfæcti Prætorio Italiæ & Galliæ*, and therefore was general. For the *Præfæctus Prætorio Italiæ* governed *Italy*, *Illyricum occidentale* and *Africa*; and the *Præfæctus Prætorio Galliæ* governed *Gallia*, *Spain*, and *Britain*.

The granting of this jurisdiction to the Pope gave several Bishops occasion to write to him for his resolutions upon doubtful cases, whereupon he answered by decretal Epistles; and henceforward he gave laws to the *Western Churches* by such Epistles. *Himerius* Bishop of *Tarraco*, the head city of a province in *Spain*, writing to Pope *Damasus* for his direction about

certain Ecclesiastical matters, and the Letter not arriving at *Rome* till after the death of *Damasus*, A. C. 384; his successor *Siricius* answered the same with a legislative authority, telling him of one thing: *Cum hoc fieri—missa ad Provincias à venerandæ memoriæ prædecessore meo Liberio generalia decreta, prohibeant.* Of another: *Noverint se ab omni ecclesiastico honore, quo indignè usi sunt, Apostolicæ Sedis auctoritate, dejectos.* Of another: *Scituri posthac omnium Provinciarum summi Antistites, quod si ultrò ad sacros ordines quenquam de talibus esse assumendum, & de suo & de aliorum statu, quos contra Canones & interdicta nostra provexerint, congruam ab Apostolica Sede promendam esse sententiam.* And the Epistle he concludes thus: *Explicuimus, ut arbitror, frater charissime, universa quæ digesta sunt in querelam; & ad singulas causas, de quibus ad Romanam Ecclesiam, utpote ad caput tui corporis, retulisti; sufficientia, quantum opinor, responsa reddidimus. Nunc fraternitatis tuæ animum ad servandos canones, & tenenda decretalia constituta, magis ac magis incitamus: ad hæc quæ ad tua consulta rescripsimus in omnium Coepiscoporum perferri facias notionem; & non solum eorum, qui in tua sunt diœcesi constituti, sed etiam ad universos Carthaginenses ac Bæticos, Lusitanos*

tanos atque ^a Gallicos, vel eos qui vicinis tibi ^a Populos
 collimitant hinc inde Provinciis, hæc quæ a nobis Gallicia.
 sunt salubri ordinatione disposita, sub literarum
 tuarum prosecutione mittantur. Et quanquam
 statuta sedis Apostolicæ vel Canonum venerabilia
 definita, nulli Sacerdotum Domini ignorare sit
 liberum: utilius tamen, atque pro antiquitate
 sacerdotii tui, dilectioni tuæ esse admodum poterit
 gloriosum, si ea quæ ad te speciali nomine gene-
 raliter scripta sunt, per unanimittatis tuæ solli-
 citudinem in universorum fratrum nostrorum
 notitiam perferantur; quatenus & quæ à nobis
 non inconsultè sed providè sub nimia cautela
 & deliberatione sunt salubriter constituta, inte-
 merata permaneant, & omnibus in posterum ex-
 cusationibus aditus, qui jam nulli apud nos
 patere poterit, obstruatur. Dat. 3 Id. Febr.
 Arcadio & Bautone viris clarissimis Consulibus,
 A. C. 385. Pope Liberius in the reign of
 Jovian or Valentinian I. sent general Decrees to
 the Provinces, ordering that the *Arians* should
 not be rebaptized: and this he did in favour
 of the Council of *Alexandria*, that nothing more
 should be required of them than to renounce
 their opinions. Pope *Damasus* is said to have
 decreed in a Roman Council, that *Tithes* and
Tenths should be paid upon pain of an *Ana-*
thema; and that *Glory be to the Father, &c.*
 should be said or sung at the end of the *Psalms*.

But

Hormisd.
Epist. 24. 26.

But the first decretal Epistle now extant is this of *Siricius* to *Himerius*; by which the Pope made *Himerius* his Vicar over all *Spain* for promulging his Decrees, and seeing them observed. The Bishop of *Sevill* was also the Pope's Vicar sometimes; for *Simplicius* wrote thus to *Zeno* Bishop of that place: *Talibus idcirco gloriantes indiciis, congruum duximus vicariâ Sedis nostræ te auctoritate fulciri: cujus vigore munitus, Apostolicæ institutionis Decreta, vel sanctorum terminos Patrum, nul-* *latenus transcendendi permittas.* And Pope *Hormisdæ* made the Bishop of *Sevill* his Vicar over *Bætica* and *Lusitania*, and the Bishop of *Tarraco* his Vicar over all the rest of *Spain*, as appears by his Epistles to them.

The
words, fine
auctoritate,
seem want-
ing.

Pope *Innocent* the first, in his decretal Epistle to *Victricius* Bishop of *Rouen* in *France*, A. C. 404, in pursuance of the Edict of *Gratian*, made this Decree: *Si quæ autem causæ vel contentiones inter Clericos tam superioris ordinis quam etiam inferioris fuerint exortæ; ut secundum Synodum Nicenam congregatis ejusdem Provinciæ Episcopis jurgium terminetur: nec alicui liceat, a Romanæ Ecclesiæ, cujus in omnibus causis debet reverentia custodiri, relictis his sacerdotibus, qui in eadem Provincia Dei Ecclesiam nutu Divino gubernant, ad alias convolare Provincias. Quod si quis fortè præsumpserit;* &

& ab officio Clericatus summotus, & injuriarum reus judicetur. Si autem majores causæ in medium fuerint devolutæ, ad Sedem Apostolicam sicut Synodus statuit, & beata consuetudo exigit, post judicium Episcopale referantur. By these Letters it seems to me that Gallia was now subject to the Pope, and had been so for some time, and that the Bishop of Rouen was then his Vicar or one of them: for the Pope directs him to refer the greater causes to the See of Rome, according to custom. But the Bishop of Arles soon after became the Pope's Vicar over all Gallia: for Pope Zosimus, A. C. 417, ordaining that none should have access to him without the credentials of his Vicars, conferred upon Patroclus the Bishop of Arles this authority over all Gallia, by the following Decree.

Zosimus universis Episcopis per Gallias & septem Provincias constitutis.

Placuit Apostolicæ Sedi, ut siquis ex qualibet Galliarum parte sub quolibet ecclesiastico gradu ad nos Romæ venire contendit, vel aliò terrarum ire disponit, non aliter proficiscatur nisi Metropolitanis Episcopis Formatas acceperit, quibus sacerdotium suum vel locum ecclesiasticum quem habet, scriptorum ejus adstipulatione perdoceat: quod ex gratia statuimus quia plures episcopi sive presbyteri

presbyteri sive ecclesiastici simulantes, quia nullum documentum Formatarum extat per quod valeant confutari, in nomen venerationis irrepunt, & indebitam reverentiam promerentur. Quisquis igitur, fratres charissimi, prætermittâ supradicti Formatâ, sive episcopus, sive presbyter, sive diaconus, aut deinceps inferiori gradu sit, ad nos venerit: sciat se omnino suscipi non posse. Quam auctoritatem ubique nos misisse manifestum est, ut cunctis regionibus innotescat id quod statui-
mus omnimodis esse servandum. Siquis autem hæc salubriter constituta temerare tentaverit sponte suâ, se a nostra noverit communione discretum. Hoc autem privilegium Formatarum sancto Patroclo fratri & coepiscopo nostro, meritorum ejus speciali contemplatione, concessimus. And that the Bishop of Arles was sometimes the Pope's Vicar over all France, is affirmed also by all the Bishops of the Diocess of Arles in their Letter to Pope Leo I. Cui id etiam honoris dignitatisque collatum est, say they, ut non tantum has Provincias potestate propriâ gubernaret; verum etiam omnes Gallias sibi Apostolicæ Sedis vice mandatas, sub omni ecclesiastica regula contineret. And Pope Pelagius I. A. C. 556, in his Epistle to Sapaudus Bishop of Arles: Majorum nostrorum, operante Dei misericordiâ, cupientes inhærere vestigiis & eorum actus divino examine in omnibus imitari: Charitati tuæ per universam Galliam

Galliam, sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ, cui divinâ gratiâ præsidemus, vices injungimus.

By the influence of the same imperial Edict, not only *Spain* and *Gallia*, but also *Illyricum* became subject to the Pope. *Damasus* made *Ascholius*, or *Acholius*, Bishop of *Thessalonica* the Metropolis of *Oriental Illyricum*, his Vicar for hearing of causes; and in the year 382, *Acholius* being summoned by Pope *Damasus*, came to a Council at *Rome*. Pope *Siricius* the successor of *Damasus*, decreed that no Bishop should be ordained in *Illyricum* without the consent of *Anysius* the successor of *Acholius*. And the following Popes gave *Rufus* the successor of *Anysius*, a power of calling Provincial Councils: for in the Collections of *Holstenius* there is an account of a Council of *Rome* convened under Pope *Boniface II.* in which were produced Letters of *Damasus*, *Syricius*, *Innocent I.* *Boniface I.* and *Cælestine* Bishops of *Rome*, to *Ascholius*, *Anysius* and *Rufus*, Bishops of *Thessalonica*: in which Letters they commend to them the hearing of causes in *Illyricum*, granted by the Lord and the holy Canons to the Apostolic See thro'out that Province. And Pope *Siricius* saith in his Epistle to *Anysius*: *Etiam dudum, frater charissime, per Candidianum Episcopum, qui nos præcessit ad Dominum, hujusmodi literas dederamus, ut nulla licentia esset, sine consensu tuo in Illy-*
O
rico

rico Episcopos ordinare præsumere, quæ utrum ad te pervenerint scire non potui. Multa enim gesta sunt per contentionem ab Episcopis in ordinationibus faciendis, quod tua melius caritas novit. And a little after: Ad omnem enim hujusmodi audaciam comprimendam vigilare debet instantia tua, Spiritu in te Sancto fervente: ut vel ipse, si potes, vel quos judicaveris Episcopos idoneos, cum literis dirigas, dato consensu qui possit, in ejus locum qui defunctus vel depositus fuerit, Catholicum Episcopum vitâ & moribus probatum, secundum Nicænæ Synodi statuta vel Ecclesiæ Romanæ, Clericum de Clero meritum ordinare. And Pope Innocent I. saith in his Epistle to Anysius: Cui [Anysio] etiam anteriores tanti ac tales viri prædecessores mei Episcopi, id est, sanctæ memoriæ Damasus, Siricius, atque supra memoratus vir ita detulerunt; ut omnia quæ in omnibus illis partibus gererentur, Sanctitati tuæ, quæ plena justitiæ est, traderent cognoscenda. And in his Epistle to Rufus the successor of Anysius: Ita longis intervallis determinatis à me ecclesiis discat consulendum; ut prudentiæ gravitæque tuæ committendam curam causasque, siquæ exoriantur, per Achaia, Thessalia, Epiri veteris, Epiri novæ, & Cretæ, Daciæ mediterraneæ, Daciæ ripensis, Moesiæ, Dardaniæ, & Prævali ecclesias, Christo Domino annuente, censeam. Verè enim ejus sacratissimis

2

monitis

monitis lectissimæ sinceritatis tuæ providentiæ & virtuti hanc injungimus sollicitudinem: non primitus hæc statuentes, sed Præcessores nostros Apostolicos imitati, qui beatissimis Acholio & Anyfio injungi pro meritis ista voluerunt. And Boniface I. in his decretal Epistle to Rufus and the rest of the Bishops in Illyricum: Nullus, ut frequenter dixi, alicujus ordinationem citra ejus [Episcopi Thessalonicensis] conscientiam celebrare præsumat: cui, ut supra dictum est, vice nostrâ cuncta committimus. And Pope Cælestine, in his decretal Epistle to the Bishops thro out Illyricum, saith: Vicem nostram per vestram Provinciam noveritis [Ruso] esse commissam, ita ut ad eum, fratres carissimi, quicquid de causis agitur, referatur. Sine ejus consilio nullus ordinetur. Nullus usurpet, eodem inconscio, commissam illi Provinciam; colligere nisi cum ejus voluntate Episcopus non præsumat. And in the cause of Perigenes, in the title of his Epistle, he thus enumerates the Provinces under this Bishop: Ruso & cæteris Episcopis per Macedoniam, Achaïam, Thessaliam, Epirum veterem, Epirum novam, Prævalin, & Daciam constitutis. And Pope Xistus in a decretal Epistle to the same Bishops: Illyricanæ omnes Ecclesiæ, ut à decessoribus nostris recepinus, & nos quoque fecimus, ad curam nunc pertinent Thessalonicensis Antistitis, ut suâ sollicitudine, siquæ

O 2

inter

inter fratres nascentur, ut assolent, actiones distinguat atque definiat; & ad eum, quicquid à singulis sacerdotibus agitur, referatur. Sit Concilium, quotiens causæ fuerint, quotiens ille pro necessitatibus emergentium ratione decreverit. And Pope Leo I. in his decretal Epistle to Anastasius Bishop of Thessalonica: Singulis autem Metropolitanis sicut potestas ista committitur, ut in suis Provinciis jus habeant ordinandi; ita eos Metropolitanos à te volumus ordinari; maturo tamen & decocto judicio.

Occidental Illyricum comprehended Pannonia prima and secunda, Savia, Dalmatia, Noricum mediterraneum, and Noricum ripense; and its Metropolis was Sirmium, till Attila destroyed this city. Afterwards Laureacum became the Metropolis of Noricum and both Pannonias, and Salona the Metropolis of Dalmatia. Now the Bishops of Laureacum and Salona received the Pallium from the Pope: and Zosimus, in his decretal Epistle to Hesychius Bishop of Salona, directed him to denounce the Apostolic decrees as well to the Bishops of his own, as to those of the neighbouring Provinces. The subjection of these Provinces to the See of Rome seems to have begun in Anemius, who was ordained Bishop of Sirmium by Ambrose Bishop of Millain, and who in the Council of Aquileia under Pope Damasus, A. C. 381, declared his

Vide Caroli
a S. Paulo
Geographi-
am sacram,
p. 72, 73.

his sentence in these words: *Caput Illyrici non nisi civitas Sirmiensis: Ego igitur illius civitatis Episcopus sum. Eum qui non confitetur filium Dei æternum, & coeternum patri, qui est sempiternus, anathema dico.* The next year *Anemius* and *Ambrose*, with *Valerian* Bishop of *Aquileia*, *Acholius* Bishop of *Thessalonica*, and many others, went to the Council of *Rome*, which met for overruling the *Greek Church* by majority of votes, and exalting the authority of the Apostolic See, as was attempted before in the Council of *Sardica*.

Aquileia was the second city of the *Western Empire*, and by some called the second *Rome*. It was the Metropolis of *Istria*, *Forum Julium*, and *Venetia*; and its subjection to the See of *Rome* is manifest by the decretal Epistle of *Leo I.* directed to *Nicetas* Bishop of this city; for the Pope begins his Epistle thus: *Regressus ad nos filius meus Adeodatus Diaconus Sedis nostræ, dilectionem tuam poposcisse memorat, ut de his à nobis auctoritatem Apostolicæ Sedis acciperes, quæ quidem magnam difficultatem dijudicationis videntur afferre.* Then he sets down an answer to the questions proposed by *Nicetas*, and concludes thus: *Hanc autem Epistolam nostram, quam ad consultationem tuæ fraternitatis emisimus, ad omnes fratres & comprovinciales tuos Episcopos facies pervenire, ut in omnium observantia, data pro sit auctoritas.* Data 12
Kal.

Kal. Apr. Majorano Aug. Cos. A. C. 458.

Greg. M.
lib. 1. Indic.
9. Epist. 16.

Gregory the great A. C. 591, cited *Severus* Bishop of *Aquileia* to appear before him in judgment in a Council at *Rome*.

Apud Gra-
tianum de
Mediola-
nenfi & A-
quileienfi
Episcopis.

The Bishops of *Aquileia* and *Millain* created one another, and therefore were of equal authority, and alike subject to the See of *Rome*.

Pope *Pelagius* about the year 557, testified this in the following words: *Mos antiquus fuit, saith he, ut quia pro longinquitate vel difficultate itineris, ab Apostolico illis onerosum fuerit ordinari, ipsi se invicem Mediolanensis & Aquileien- sis ordinare Episcopos debuissent.* These words

Greg. M. lib.
3. Epist. 26.
& lib. 4.
Epist. 1.

Greg. lib.
5. Epist. 4.

Greg. lib. 9.
Epist. 10
& 67.

Greg. lib.
11. Epist.
3, 4.

imply that the ordination of these two Bishops belonged to the See of *Rome*. When *Laurentius* Bishop of *Millain* had excommunicated *Magnus*, one of his Presbyters, and was dead, Gregory the great absolved *Magnus*, and sent the *Pallium* to the new elected Bishop *Constantius*; whom the next year he reprehended of partiality in judging *Fortunatus*, and commanded him to send *Fortunatus* to *Rome* to be judged there:

four years after he appointed the Bishops of *Millain* and *Ravenna* to hear the cause of one *Maximus*; and two years after, viz. A. C. 601, when *Constantius* was dead, and the people of *Millain* had elected *Deusdedit* his successor, and the *Lombards* had elected another, Gregory wrote to the Notary, Clergy, and People of *Millain*,

that

that by the authority of his Letters *Deusdedit* should be ordained, and that he whom the *Lombards* had ordained was an unworthy successor of *Ambrose*: whence I gather, that the Church of *Millain* had continued in this state of subordination to the See of *Rome* ever since the days of *Ambrose*; for *Ambrose* himself acknowledged the authority of that See. *Ecclesia Romana*, saith he, *hanc consuetudinem non habet, cujus typum in omnibus sequimur, & formam.* And a little after: *In omnibus cupio sequi Ecclesiam Romanam.* And in his Commentary upon 1 *Tim.* iii. *Cum totus mundus Dei sit, tamen domus ejus Ecclesia dicitur, cujus hodie rector est Damasus.* In his Oration on the death of his brother *Satyrus*, he relates how his brother coming to a certain city of *Sardinia*, *advocavit Episcopum loci, percontatusque est ex eo utrum cum Episcopis Catholicis hoc est cum Romana Ecclesia conveniret?* And in conjunction with the Synod of *Aquileia* A. C. 381, in a synodical Epistle to the Emperor *Gratian*, he saith: *Totius orbis Romani caput Romanam Ecclesiam, atque illam sacrosanctam Apostolorum fidem, ne turbari sineret, obsecranda fuit clementia vestra; inde enim in omnes venerandæ communionis jura dimanant.* The Churches therefore of *Aquileia* and *Millain* were subject to the See of *Rome* from the days of the Emperor

Ambros. l.
3. de sacra-
mentis, c. 1.

Sigonius de
Regno Ita-
liæ, lib. 5.

peror Gratian. *Auxentius* the predecessor of *Ambrose* was not subject to the see of *Rome*, and consequently the subjection of the Church of *Millain* began in *Ambrose*. This Diocese of *Millain* contained *Liguria* with *Insubria*, the *Alpes Cottia* and *Rhætia*; and was divided from the Diocese of *Aquileia* by the river *Addua*. In the year 844, the Bishop of *Millain* broke off from the See of *Rome*, and continued in this separation about 200 years, as is thus related by *Sigonius*: *Eodem anno Angilbertus Mediolanensis Archiepiscopus ab Ecclesia Romana parum comperta de causa descivit, tantumque exemplo in posterum valuit, ut non nisi post ducentos annos Ecclesia Mediolanensis ad Romanæ obedientiam auctoritatemque redierit.*

See Baro-
nius, Anno
433. Sect.
24.

The Bishop of *Ravenna*, the Metropolis of *Flaminia* and *Æmilia*, was also subject to the Pope: for *Zosimus*, A. C. 417, excommunicated some of the Presbyters of that Church, and wrote a commonitory Epistle about them to the Clergy of that Church as a branch of the *Roman Church*: *In sua*, saith he, *hoc est, in Ecclesia nostra Romana*. When those of *Ravenna*, having elected a new Bishop, gave notice thereof to Pope *Sixtus*, the Pope set him aside, and ordained *Peter Chrysologus* in his room. *Chrysologus* in his Epistle to *Eutyches*, extant in the Acts of the Council of *Chalcedon*, wrote thus:

thus: *Nos pro studio pacis & fidei, extra consensum Romanæ civitatis Episcopi, causas fidei audire non possumus.* Pope Leo I. being consulted by Leo Bishop of Ravenna about some questions, answered him by a decretal Epistle A. C. 451. And Pope Gregory the great, reprehending John Bishop of Ravenna about the use of the *Pallium*, tells him of a Precept of one of his Predecessors, Pope John, commanding that all the Privileges formerly granted to the Bishop and Church of Ravenna should be kept: to this John returned a submissive answer; and after his death Pope Gregory ordered a visitation of the Church of Ravenna, confirmed the privileges heretofore granted them, and sent his *Pallium*, as of antient custom, to their new Bishop Marinian. Yet this Church revolted sometimes from the Church of Rome, but returned again to its obedience.

Greg. M.
lib. 3. Epist.
56, 57. &
lib. 5. Epist.
25, 26, 56.

The rest of *Italy*, with the Islands adjacent, containing the *suburbicarian* regions, or ten Provinces under the temporal Vicar of Rome, viz. ¹*Campania*, ²*Tuscia* and *Umbria*, ³*Picenum suburbicarium*, ⁴*Sicily*, ⁵*Apulia* and *Calabria*, ⁶*Brutii* and *Lucania*, ⁷*Samnium*, ⁸*Sardinia*, ⁹*Corfica*, and ¹⁰*Valeria*, constituted the proper Province of the Bishop of Rome. For the Council of Nice in their fifth Canon ordained that Councils should

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be held every spring and autumn in every Province; and according to this Canon, the Bishops of this Province met at *Rome* every half year. In this sense Pope *Leo I.* applied this Canon to *Rome*, in a decretal Epistle to the Bishops of *Sicily*, written *Alippio & Ardabure Coss. A. C. 447.* *Quia saluberrime, saith he, à sanctis patribus constitutum est, binos in annis singulis Episcoporum debere esse conventus, terni semper ex vobis ad diem tertium Kalendarum Octobrium Romam æterno concilio sociandi occurrant. Et indissimulanter à vobis hæc consuetudo servetur, quoniam adjuvante Dei gratiâ facilius poterit provideri, ut in Ecclesiis Christi nulla scandala, nulli nascantur errores; cum coram Apostolo Petro semper in communione tractatum fuerit, ut omnia Canonum Decreta apud omnes Domini sacerdotes inviolata permaneant.* The Province of *Rome* therefore comprehended *Sicily*, with so much of *Italy* and the neighbouring Islands as sent Bishops to the annual Councils of *Rome*; but extended not into the Provinces of *Ravenna*, *Aquileia*, *Millain*, *Arles*, &c. those Provinces having Councils of their own. The Bishops in every Province of the *Roman Empire* were convened in Council by the Metropolitan or Bishop of the head city of the Province, and this Bishop presided in that Council: but the Bishop of *Rome* did not only preside in his own Council of
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the Bishops of the *suburbicarian* regions, but also gave Orders to the Metropolitans of all the other Provinces in the *Western Empire*, as their universal governor; as may be further perceived by the following instances.

Pope *Zosimus* A. C. 417, cited *Proculus* Bishop of *Marseilles* to appear before a Council at *Rome* for illegitimate Ordinations; and condemned him, as he mentions in several of his Epistles. Pope *Boniface* I. A. C. 419, upon a complaint of the Clergy of *Valentia* against *Maximus* a Bishop, summoned the Bishops of all *Gallia* and the seven Provinces to convene in a Council against him; and saith in his Epistle, that his Predecessors had done the like. Pope *Leo* I. called a general Council of all the Provinces of *Spain* to meet in *Gallæcia* against the *Manichees* and *Priscillianists*, as he says in his decretal Epistle to *Turribius* a *Spanish* Bishop. And in one of his decretal Epistles to *Nicetas* Bishop of *Aquileia*, he commands him to call a Council of the Bishops of that Province against the *Pelagians*, which might ratify all the Synodal Decrees which had been already ratified by the See of *Rome* against this heresy. And in his decretal Epistle to *Anastasius* Bishop of *Theffalonica*, he ordained that Bishop should hold two Provincial Councils every year, and refer the harder causes to the See of *Rome*:

and if upon any extraordinary occasion it should be necessary to call a Council, he should not be troublesome to the Bishops under him, but content himself with two Bishops out of every Province, and not detain them above fifteen days. In the same Epistle he describes the form of Church-Government then set up, to consist in a subordination of all the Churches to the See of Rome: *De qua forma, saith he, Episcoporum quoque est orta distinctio, & magna dispositione provisum est ne omnes sibi omnia vindicarent, sed essent in singulis Provinciis singuli quorum inter fratres haberetur prima sententia, & rursus quidam in majoribus urbibus constituti sollicitudinem sumerent ampliore, per quos ad unam Petri Sedem universalis Ecclesiae cura conflueret, & nihil usque à suo capite dissideret. Qui ergo scit se quibusdam esse præpositum, non moleste ferat aliquem sibi esse præpositum; sed obedientiam quam exigit etiam ipse dependat; et sicut non vult gravis oneris sarcinam ferre, ita non audeat aliis importabile pondus imponere.* These words sufficiently shew the monarchical form of government then set up in the Churches of the *Western Empire* under the Bishop of Rome, by means of the imperial Decree of Gratian, and the appeals and decretal Epistles grounded thereupon.

The same Pope *Leo*, having in a Council at *Rome* passed sentence upon *Hilary* Bishop of *Arles*, for what he had done by a Provincial Council in *Gallia*, took occasion from thence to procure the following Edict from the *Western* Emperor *Valentinian* III. for the more absolute establishing the authority of his See over all the Churches of the *Western Empire*.

Impp. Theodosius & Valentinianus AA. Aetio Viro illustri, Comiti & Magistro utriusque militiae & Patricio.

Certum est & nobis & imperio nostro unicum esse præsidium in supernæ Divinitatis favore, ad quem promerendum præcipue Christiana fides & veneranda nobis religio suffragatur. Cum igitur Sedis Apostolicæ Primatum sancti Petri meritum, qui princeps est Episcopalis coronæ & Romanæ dignitas civitatis, sacræ etiam Synodi firmavit auctoritas: ne quid præter auctoritatem Sedis istius illicitum præsumptio attemperare nitatur: tunc enim demum Ecclesiarum pax ubique servabitur, si Rectorem suum agnoscat Universitas. Hæc cum hætenus inviolabiliter fuerint custodita, Hilarius Arelatensis, sicut venerabilis viri Leonis Romani Papæ fidei relatione comperimus, contumaci ausu illicita quædam præsumenda tentavit, & ideo Transalpinas Ecclesias abominabilis tumultus

tumultus invasit, quod recens maximè testatur exemplum. Hilarius enim qui Episcopus Arelatensis vocatur, Ecclesiæ Romanæ urbis inconsulto Pontifice indebitas sibi ordinationes Episcoporum solâ temeritate usurpans invasit. Nam alios incompetenter removit; indecenter alios, invitatis & repugnantibus civibus, ordinavit. Qui quidem, quoniam non facile ab his qui non elegerant, recipiebantur, manum sibi contrahabat armatam, & claustra murorum in hostilem morem vel obsidione cingebat, vel aggressione reserabat, & ad sedem quietis pacem prædicaturus per bella ducebat. His talibus contra Imperii majestatem, & contra reverentiam Apostolicæ Sedis admissis, per ordinem religiosi viri Urbis Papæ cognitione discussis, certa in eum, ex his quos malè ordinaverat, lata sententia est. Erat quidem ipsa sententia per Gallias etiam sine Imperiali Sanctione valitura: quid enim Pontificis auctoritate non liceret? Sed nostram quoque præceptionem hæc ratio provocavit. Nec ulterius vel Hilario, quem adhuc Episcopum nuncupare sola mansueta Præsulis permittit humanitas, nec cuiquam alteri ecclesiasticis rebus arma miscere, aut præceptis Romani Antistitis liceat obviare: ausibus enim talibus fides & reverentia nostri violatur Imperii. Nec hoc solum, quod est maximi criminis, submovemus: verum ne levis saltem inter Ecclesias turba nascatur, vel in aliquo minui religionis

religionis disciplina videatur, hoc perenni sanctione discernimus; nequid tam Episcopis Gallicanis quam aliarum Provinciarum contra consuetudinem veterem liceat, sine viri venerabilis Papæ Urbis æternæ auctoritate, tentare. Sed illis omnibusque pro lege sit, quicquid sanxit vel sanxerit Apostolicæ Sedis auctoritas: ita ut quisquis Episcoporum ad iudicium Romani Antistitis evocatus venire neglexerit, per Moderatorem ejusdem Provinciæ adesse cogatur, per omnia servatis quæ Divi parentes nostri Romanæ Ecclesiæ detulerunt, Aetî pater carissime Augusti. Unde illustris & præclara magnificentia tua præsentis Edictalis Legis auctoritate faciet quæ sunt superius statuta servari, decem librarum auri multa protinus exigenda ab unoquoque Iudice qui passus fuerit præcepta nostra violari. Divinitas te servet per multos annos, parens carissime. Dat. viii. Id. Jun. Romæ, Valentiniano A. vi. Consule, A. C. 445. By this Edict the Emperor Valentinian enjoined an absolute obedience to the will of the Bishop of Rome thro'out all the Churches of his Empire; and declares, that for the Bishops to attempt any thing without the Pope's authority is contrary to antient custom, and that the Bishops summoned to appear before his judicature must be carried thither by the Governor of the Province; and he ascribes these privileges of the See of Rome to the concessions

of his dead Ancestors, that is, to the Edict of *Gratian* and *Valentinian* II. as above: by which reckoning this dominion of the Church of *Rome* was now of 66 years standing: and if in all this time it had not been sufficiently established, this new Edict was enough to settle it beyond all question thro'out the *Western Empire*.

Hence all the Bishops of the Province of *Arles* in their Letter to Pope *Leo*, A. C. 450, petitioning for a restitution of the privileges of their Metropolitan, say: *Per beatum Petrum Apostolorum principem, sacrosancta Ecclesia Romana tenebat supra omnes totius mundi Ecclesias principatum.* And *Ceratius*, *Salonius* and *Veranus*, three Bishops of *Gallia*, say, in their Epistle to the same Pope: *Magna præterea & ineffabili quadam nos peculiare tui gratulatione succrescimus, quod illa specialis doctrinæ vestræ pagina ita per omnium Ecclesiarum conventicula celebratur, ut vere consona omnium sententia declaretur; merito illic principatum Sedis Apostolicæ constitutum, unde adhuc Apostolici spiritus oracula referentur.* And *Leo* himself, in his Epistle to the metropolitan Bishops thro'out *Illyricum*: *Quia per omnes Ecclesias cura nostra distenditur, exigente hoc à nobis Domino, qui Apostolicæ dignitatis beatissimo Apostolo Petro primatum, fidei sui remuneratione commisit, universalem Ecclesiam in fundamenti ipsius soliditate constituens.*

Epist. 25.
apud Holste-
nium.

While

While this Ecclesiastical Dominion was rising up, the northern barbarous nations invaded the *Western Empire*, and founded several kingdoms therein, of different religions from the Church of *Rome*. But these kingdoms by degrees embraced the *Roman* faith, and at the same time submitted to the Pope's authority. The *Franks* in *Gaul* submitted in the end of the fifth Century, the *Goths* in *Spain* in the end of the sixth; and the *Lombards* in *Italy* were conquer'd by *Charles* the great A. C. 774. Between the years 775 and 794, the same *Charles* extended the Pope's authority over all *Germany* and *Hungary* as far as the river *Theyffe* and the *Baltic* sea; he then set him above all human judicature, and at the same time assisted him in subduing the City and Duchy of *Rome*. By the conversion of the ten kingdoms to the *Roman* religion, the Pope only enlarged his spiritual dominion, but did not yet rise up as a horn of the Beast. It was his temporal dominion which made him one of the horns: and this dominion he acquired in the latter half of the eighth century, by subduing three of the former horns as above. And now being arrived at a temporal dominion, and a power above all human judicature, he reigned *with a look more stout than his fellows*, and *times and laws were henceforward given into his hands, for a time times and half a* Dan. vii. 20.
Ver. 25.

Q time,

Ver. 26.

Ver. 27.

time, or three times and an half; that is, for 1260 solar years, reckoning a time for a Calendar year of 360 days, and a day for a solar year. After which the judgment is to sit, and they shall take away his dominion, not at once, but by degrees, to consume, and to destroy it unto the end. And the kingdom and dominion, and greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven shall, by degrees, be given unto the people of the saints of the most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him.

C H A P.

C H A P. IX.

*Of the kingdoms represented in Daniel
by the Ram and He-Goat.*

THE second and third Empires, represented by the Bear and Leopard, are again represented by the Ram and He-Goat; but with this difference, that the Ram represents the kingdoms of the *Medes* and *Persians* from the beginning of the four Empires, and the Goat represents the kingdom of the *Greeks* to the end of them. By this means, under the type of the Ram and He-Goat, the times of all the four Empires are again described:

I lifted up mine eyes, saith Daniel, and saw, and behold there stood before the river [Ulai] a Ram which had two horns, and the two horns were high, but one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last.—And the Ram having two horns, are the kings of Media and Persia: not two persons but two kingdoms, the kingdoms of Media and Persia; and the kingdom of Persia was the higher horn and came up last. The kingdom of Persia rose up, when Cyrus having newly conquered Babylon,

Chap. viii. 3.

revolted from *Darius* King of the *Medes*, and beat him at *Pasargadae*, and set up the *Persians* above the *Medes*. This was the horn which came up last. And the horn which came up first was the kingdom of the *Medes*, from the time that *Cyaxares* and *Nebuchadnezzar* overthrew *Nineveh*, and shared the Empire of the *Assyrians* between them. The Empires of *Media* and *Babylon* were contemporary, and rose up together by the fall of the *Assyrian* Empire; and the Prophecy of the four Beasts begins with one of them, and that of the Ram and He-Goat with the other. As the Ram represents the kingdom of *Media* and *Persia* from the beginning of the four Empires; so the He-Goat represents the Empire of the *Greeks* to the end of those Monarchies. In the reign of his great horn, and of the four horns which succeeded it, he represents this Empire during the reign of the Leopard: and in the reign of his little horn, which stood up in the latter time of the kingdom of the four, and after their fall became mighty but not by his own power, he represents it during the reign of the fourth Beast.

The rough Goat, saith Daniel, is the King of Grecia, that is, the kingdom; and the great horn between his eyes is the first King: not the first Monarch, but the first kingdom, that which lasted during the reign of Alexander the great,
and

and his brother *Aridæus* and two young sons, *Alexander* and *Hercules*. Now that [horn] Ver. 22. being broken off, whereas four [horns] stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation [of the Greeks], but not in his [the first horn's] power. The four horns are therefore four kingdoms; and by consequence, the first great horn which they succeeded is the first great kingdom of the *Greeks*, that which was founded by *Alexander* the great, *An. Nabonass.* 414, and lasted till the death of his son *Hercules*, *An. Nabonass.* 441. And the four are those of *Cassander*, *Lyfimachus*, *Antigonus*, and *Ptolemy*, as above.

And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a King [or new kingdom] of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand Ver. 23. up: and his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power. This King was the last horn of the Goat, the little horn which came up out of one of the four horns, and waxed exceeding great. The latter time of their kingdom was when the *Romans* began to conquer them, that is, when they conquered *Perseus* King of *Macedonia*, the fundamental kingdom of the *Greeks*. And at that time the transgressors came to the full: for then the High-priesthood was exposed to sale, the Vessels of the Temple were sold to pay

pay for the purchase; and the High-priest, with some of the *Jews*, procured a licence from *Antiochus Epiphanes* to do after the ordinances of the heathen, and set up a school at *Jerusalem* for teaching those ordinances. Then *Antiochus* took *Jerusalem* with an armed force, slew 4000 *Jews*, took as many prisoners and sold them, spoiled the Temple, interdicted the worship, commanded the Law of *Moses* to be burnt, and set up the worship of the heathen Gods in all *Judea*. In the very same year, *An. Nabonass.* 580, the *Romans* conquered *Macedonia*, the chief of the four horns. Hitherto the Goat was mighty by its own power, but henceforward began to be under the *Romans*. *Daniel* distinguishes the times, by describing very particularly the actions of the Kings of the north and south, those two of the four horns which bordered upon *Judea*, until the *Romans* conquered *Macedonia*; and thenceforward only touching upon the main revolutions which happened within the compass of the nations represented by the Goat. In this latter period of time the little horn was to stand up and grow mighty, but not by his own power.

The three first of *Daniel's* Beasts had their dominions taken away, each of them at the rise of the next Beast; but their lives were prolonged, and they are all of them still alive. The
third

third Beast, or Leopard, reigned in his four heads, till the rise of the fourth Beast, or Empire of the *Latins*; and his life was prolonged under their power. This Leopard reigning in his four heads, signifies the same thing with the He-Goat reigning in his four horns: and therefore the He-Goat reigned in his four horns till the rise of *Daniel's* fourth Beast, or Empire of the *Latins*: then its dominion was taken away by the *Latins*, but its life was prolonged under their power. The *Latins* are not comprehended among the nations represented by the He-Goat in this Prophecy: their power over the *Greeks* is only named in it, to distinguish the times in which the He-Goat was mighty by his own power, from the times in which he was mighty but not by his own power. He was mighty by his own power till his dominion was taken away by the *Latins*; after that, his life was prolonged under their dominion, and this prolonging of his life was in the days of his last horn: for in the days of this horn the Goat became mighty, but not by his own power.

Now because this horn was a horn of the Goat, we are to look for it among the nations which composed the body of the Goat. Among those nations he was to rise up and grow mighty: he grew mighty *towards the south, and towards the east, and towards the pleasant land;* and therefore he was to rise up in the north-west.

Chap. viii. 9.

west parts of those nations, and extend his dominion towards *Egypt*, *Syria* and *Judea*. In the latter time of the kingdom of the four horns, it was to rise up out of one of them and subdue the rest, but not by its own power. It was to be assisted by a foreign power, a power superior to itself, the power which took away the dominion of the third Beast, the power of the fourth Beast. And such a little horn was the kingdom of *Macedonia*, from the time that it became subject to the *Romans*. This kingdom, by the victory of the *Romans* over *Perseus* King of *Macedonia*, Anno Nabonass. 580, ceased to be one of the four horns of the Goat, and became a dominion of a new sort: not a horn of the fourth Beast, for *Macedonia* belonged to the body of the third; but a horn of the third Beast of a new sort, a horn of the Goat which grew mighty but not by his own power, a horn which rose up and grew potent under a foreign power, the power of the *Romans*.

The *Romans*, by the legacy of *Attalus* the last King of *Pergamus*, An. Nabonass. 615, inherited that kingdom, including all *Asia Minor* on this side mount *Taurus*. An. Nabonass. 684 and 685 they conquered *Armenia*, *Syria* and *Judea*; An. Nabonass. 718, they subdued *Egypt*. And by these conquests the little horn

horn waxed exceeding great towards the south,
 and towards the east, and towards the pleasant
 land. And it waxed great even to the host of ^{Chap. viii.}
 heaven; and cast down some of the host and of ^{9, 10.}
 the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them,
 that is, upon the people and great men of the
 Jews. Yea, he magnified himself even to the ^{Ver. 11.}
 Prince of the Host, the Messiah, the Prince of
 the Jews, whom he put to death, *An. Nabonass.*
 780. And by him the daily sacrifice was taken
 away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast
 down, viz. in the wars which the armies of
 the Eastern nations under the conduct of the
 Romans made against Judea, when Nero
 and Vespasian were Emperors, *An. Nabonass.*
 816, 817, 818. And an host was given him ^{Ver. 12.}
 against the daily sacrifice by reason of trans-
 gression, and it cast down the truth to the
 ground, and it practised and prospered. This
 transgression is in the next words called *the*
transgression of desolation; and in *Dan. xi. 31.*
the abomination which maketh desolate; and in
Matth. xxiv. 15. *the abomination of desolation*,
 spoken of by Daniel the prophet, standing in the
 holy place. It may relate chiefly to the wor-
 ship of Jupiter Olympius in his Temple built
 by the Emperor Hadrian, in the place of the
 Temple of the Jews, and to the revolt of the
 Jews under Barchochab occasioned thereby, and

to the desolation of *Judea* which followed thereupon; all the *Jews* being thenceforward banished *Judea* upon pain of death. Then Ver. 13, 14. I heard, saith *Daniel*, one saint speaking, and another saint said unto that certain saint which spake, How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot? And he said unto me, Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed. *Daniel's* days are years; and these years may perhaps be reckoned either from the destruction of the Temple by the *Romans* in the reign of *Vespasian*, or from the pollution of the Sanctuary by the worship of *Jupiter Olympius*, or from the desolation of *Judea* made in the end of the *Jewish* war by the banishment of all the *Jews* out of their own country, or from some other period which time will discover. Henceforward the last horn of the Goat continued mighty under the *Romans*, till the reign of *Constantine* the great and his sons: and then by the division of the *Roman* Empire between the *Greek* and *Latin* Emperors, it separated from the *Latins*, and became the *Greek* Empire alone, but yet under the dominion of a *Roman* family; and at present it is mighty under the dominion of the *Turks*.

This last horn is by some taken for *Antiochus Epiphanes*, but not very judiciously. A horn of a Beast is never taken for a single person: it always signifies a new kingdom, and the kingdom of *Antiochus* was an old one. *Antiochus* reigned over one of the four horns, and the little horn was a fifth under its proper kings. This horn was at first a little one, and waxed exceeding great, but so did not *Antiochus*. It is described great above all the former horns, and so was not *Antiochus*. His kingdom on the contrary was weak, and tributary to the *Romans*, and he did not enlarge it. The horn was a *King of fierce countenance, and destroyed wonderfully, and prospered and practised*; that is, he prospered in his practises against the holy people: but *Antiochus* was frightened out of *Egypt* by a mere message of the *Romans*, and afterwards routed and baffled by the *Jews*. The horn was mighty by another's power, *Antiochus* acted by his own. The horn stood up against the Prince of the Host of heaven, the Prince of Princes; and this is the character not of *Antiochus* but of *Antichrist*. The horn cast down the Sanctuary to the ground, and so did not *Antiochus*; he left it standing. The Sanctuary and Host were trampled under foot 2300 days; and in *Daniel's* Prophecies days are put for years: but the profanation of the Temple in the reign of *Antiochus*

chus did not last so many natural days. These were to last till the time of the end, till the last end of the indignation against the *Jews*; and this indignation is not yet at an end. They were to last till the Sanctuary which had been cast down should be cleansed, and the Sanctuary is not yet cleansed.

This Prophecy of the Ram and He-Goat is repeated in the last Prophecy of *Daniel*. There
 Dan. xi. 1, 2. the Angel tells *Daniel*, that *he stood up to strengthen Darius the Mede, and that there should stand up yet three kings in Persia, [Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius Hystaspis] and the fourth [Xerxes] should be far richer than they all; and by his wealth thro' his riches he should stir up all against the realm of Grecia.* This relates to the Ram, whose two horns were the kingdoms of *Media* and *Persia*. Then he goes on to describe the horns of the Goat by the *standing up of a mighty king, which should rule with great dominion, and do according to his will; and by the breaking of his kingdom into four smaller kingdoms, and not descending to his own posterity.* Then he describes the actions of two of those kingdoms which bordered on *Judea*, viz. *Egypt* and *Syria*, calling them the Kings of the *South* and *North*, that is, in respect of *Judea*; and he carries on the description till the latter end of the kingdoms of the four, and till the
 reign.

reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, when transgressors were come to the full. In the eighth year of *Antiochus*, the year in which he profaned the Temple and set up the heathen Gods in all *Judea*, and the *Romans* conquered the kingdom of *Macedon*; the prophetic Angel leaves off describing the affairs of the kings of the *South* and *North*, and begins to describe those of the *Greeks* under the dominion of the *Romans*, in these words: *And after him Arms* [the *Romans*] Dan. xi. 31.
shall stand up, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength. As מִלֶּךְ signifies *after the king*, Dan. xi. 8; so here מִמֶּנּוּ may signify *after him*: and so מִן-הָאַחֶרֶת may signify *after one of them*, Dan. viii. 9. Arms are every where in these Prophecies of *Daniel* put for the military power of a kingdom, and they stand up when they conquer and grow powerful. The *Romans* conquered *Illyricum*, *Epirus* and *Macedonia*, in the year of *Nabonassar* 580; and thirty five years after, by the last will and testament of *Attalus* the last King of *Pergamus*, they inherited that rich and flourishing kingdom, that is, all *Asia* on this side mount *Taurus*: and sixty nine years after, they conquered the kingdom of *Syria*, and reduced it into a Province: and thirty four years after they did the like to *Egypt*. By all these steps the *Roman* arms stood up over the *Greeks*. And after 95 years more, by making
war:

war upon the *Jews*, they polluted the sanctuary of strength, and took away the daily sacrifice, and, in its room soon after, placed the abomination which made the Land desolate: for this abomination was placed after the days of Christ, *Matth.* xxiv. 15. In the 16th year of the Emperor *Hadrian*, A. C. 132, they placed this abomination by building a Temple to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, where the Temple of God in *Jerusalem* had stood. Thereupon the *Jews* under the conduct of *Barchochab* rose up in arms against the *Romans*, and in that war had 50 cities demolished, 985 of their best towns destroyed, and 580000 men slain by the sword: and in the end of the war, A. C. 136, they were all banished *Judea* upon pain of death; and that time the land hath remained desolate of its old inhabitants.

Now that the prophetic Angel passes in this manner from the four kingdoms of the *Greeks* to the *Romans* reigning over the *Greeks*, is confirmed from hence, that in the next place he describes the affairs of the *Christians* unto the time of the end, in these words: *And they that understand among the people shall instruct many, yet they shall fall by the sword and by flame, by captivity and by spoil many days. Now when they shall fall they shall be holpen with a little help, viz. in the reign of Constantine*
the

the great; but many shall cleave to them with dissimulation. And some of them of understanding there shall fall to try them, and to purge them from the dissemblers; and to make them white even to the time of the end. And a little after, the time of the end is said to be a time, times, and half a time: which is the duration of the reign of the last horn of *Daniel's* fourth Beast, and of the *Woman* and her *Beast* in the *Apocalyps*.

C H A P.

CHAP. X.

Of the Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks.

THE Vision of the Image composed of four Metals was given first to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and then to *Daniel* in a dream: and *Daniel* began then to be celebrated for revealing of secrets, *Ezek.* xxviii. 3. The Vision of the four Beasts, and of *the Son of man* coming in the clouds of heaven, was also given to *Daniel* in a dream. That of the Ram and the He-Goat appeared to him in the day time, when he was by the bank of the river *Ulay*; and was explained to him by the prophetic Angel *Gabriel*. It concerns the *Prince of the host*, and the *Prince of Princes*: and now in the first year of *Darius the Mede* over *Babylon*, the same prophetic Angel appears to *Daniel* again, and explains to him what is meant by the *Son of man*, by the *Prince of the host*, and the *Prince of Princes*. The Prophecy of the *Son of man* coming in the clouds of heaven relates to the second coming of *Christ*; that of the *Prince of the host* relates to his first coming: and this Prophecy of the *Messiah*, in explaining them, relates to both comings, and assigns the times thereof. This

This Prophecy, like all the rest of *Daniel's*, consists of two parts, an introductory Prophecy and an explanation thereof; the whole I thus translate and interpret.

‘ *Seventy weeks are* ^a *cut out upon thy people,* Chap. ix.
24, 25, 26,
27.
‘ *and upon thy holy city, to finish transgression,*
‘ *and* ^b *to make an end of sins, to expiate*
‘ *iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righte-*
‘ *ousness, to consummate the Vision and* ^c *the*
‘ *Prophet, and to anoint the most Holy.*

‘ *Know also and understand, that from the*
‘ *going forth of the commandment to cause to*
‘ *return and to build Jerusalem, unto* ^d *the*
‘ *Anointed the Prince, shall be seven weeks.*

‘ *Yet threescore and two weeks shall* ^e *it re-*
‘ *turn, and the street be built and the wall;*
‘ *but in troublesome times: and after the three-*
‘ *score and two weeks, the Anointed shall be*
‘ *cut off, and* ^e *it shall not be his; but the people*
‘ *of a Prince to come shall destroy the city and*
‘ *the sanctuary: and the end thereof shall be*
‘ *with*

^a *Cut upon.* A phrase in *Hebrew*, taken from the practice of numbring by cutting notches.

^b *Heb. to seal, i. e. to finish or consummate:* a metaphor taken from sealing what is finished. So the *Jews* compute, *ad obsignatum Misna, ad obsignatum Talmud*, that is, *ad absolutum*.

^c *Heb. the Prophet, not the Prophecy.*

^d *Heb. the Messiah, that is, in Greek, the Christ; in English, the Anointed.* I use the *English* word, that the relation of this clause to the former may appear.

^e *Jerusalem.*

‘ with a flood, and unto the end of the war,
 ‘ desolations are determined.

‘ Yet shall he confirm the covenant with
 ‘ many for one week: and in half a week he
 ‘ shall cause the sacrifice and oblation to cease:
 ‘ and upon a wing of abominations he shall make
 ‘ it desolate, even until the consummation, and
 ‘ that which is determined be poured upon the
 ‘ desolate.’

Seventy weeks are cut out upon thy people,
 and upon thy holy city, to finish transgression,
 &c. Here, by putting a week for seven years,
 are reckoned 490 years from the time that
 the dispersed Jews should be re-incorporated
 into ^a a people and a holy city, until the death
 and resurrection of Christ; whereby transgression
 should be finished, and sins ended, iniquity be
 expiated, and everlasting righteousness brought in,
 and this Vision be accomplished, and the Pro-
 phet consummated, that Prophet whom the Jews
 expected; and whereby the most Holy should
 be anointed, he who is therefore in the next
 words called the Anointed, that is, the Messiah,
 or the Christ. For by joining the accomplish-
 ment of the vision with the expiation of sins,
 the 490 years are ended with the death of Christ.
 Now the dispersed Jews became a people and
 city when they first returned into a polity or
 body politick; and this was in the seventh year
 of

^a See Isa.
 xxiii. 13.

of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, when *Ezra* returned with a body of *Jews* from captivity, and revived the *Jewish* worship; and by the King's commission created Magistrates in all the land, to judge and govern the people according to the laws of God and the King, *Ezra* vii. 25. There were but two returns from captivity, *Zerubbabel's* and *Ezra's*; in *Zerubbabel's* they had only commission to build the Temple, in *Ezra's* they first became a polity or city by a government of their own. Now the years of this *Artaxerxes* began about two or three months after the summer solstice, and his seventh year fell in with the third year of the eightieth *Olympiad*; and the latter part thereof, wherein *Ezra* went up to *Jerusalem*, was in the year of the *Julian Period* 4257. Count the time from thence to the death of *Christ*, and you will find it just 490 years. If you count in *Judaic* years commencing in autumn, and date the reckoning from the first autumn after *Ezra's* coming to *Jerusalem*, when he put the King's decree in execution; the death of *Christ* will fall on the year of the *Julian Period* 4747, *Anno Domini* 34; and the weeks will be *Judaic* weeks, ending with sabbatical years; and this I take to be the truth: but if you had rather place the death of *Christ* in the year before, as is

commonly done, you may take the year of *Ezra's* journey into the reckoning.

Know also and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to cause to return and to build Jerusalem, unto the Anointed the Prince, shall be seven weeks. The former part of the Prophecy related to the first coming of *Christ*, being dated to his coming as a Prophet; this being dated to his coming to be Prince or King, seems to relate to his second coming. There, the Prophet was consummate, and the most holy anointed: here, he that was anointed comes to be Prince and to reign. For *Daniel's* Prophecies reach to the end of the world; and there is scarce a Prophecy in the Old Testament concerning *Christ*, which doth not in something or other relate to his second coming. If divers of the antients, as ^a *Irenæus*, ^b *Julius Africanus*, *Hippolytus* the martyr, and *Apollinaris* Bishop of *Laodicea*, applied the half week to the times of *Antichrist*; why may not we, by the same liberty of interpretation, apply the seven weeks to the time when *Antichrist* shall be destroyed by the brightness of *Christ's* coming?

The *Israelites* in the days of the antient Prophets, when the ten Tribes were led into captivity, expected a double return; and that at the first

^a Iren. l. 5. Hær. c. 25.

^b Apud Hieron. in h. l.

first the *Jews* should build a new Temple inferior to *Solomon's*, until the time of that age should be fulfilled; and afterwards they should return from all places of their captivity, and build *Jerusalem* and the Temple gloriously, *Tobit* xiv. 4, 5, 6: and to express the glory and excellence of this city, it is figuratively said to be built of precious stones, *Tobit* xiii. 16, 17, 18. *Isa.* liv. 11, 12. *Rev.* xi. and called the *New Jerusalem*, the *Heavenly Jerusalem*, the *Holy City*, the *Lamb's Wife*, the *City of the Great King*, the *City into which the Kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour*. Now while such a return from captivity was the expectation of *Israel*, even before the times of *Daniel*, I know not why *Daniel* should omit it in his Prophecy. This part of the Prophecy being therefore not yet fulfilled, I shall not attempt a particular interpretation of it, but content myself with observing, that as the *seventy* and the *sixty two weeks* were *Jewish* weeks, ending with sabbatical years; so the *seven weeks* are the compass of a *Jubilee*, and begin and end with actions proper for a *Jubilee*, and of the highest nature for which a *Jubilee* can be kept: and that since *the commandment to return and to build Jerusalem*, precedes the *Messiah the Prince* 49 years; it may perhaps come forth not from the *Jews* themselves, but
from

from some other kingdom friendly to them, and precede their return from captivity, and give occasion to it; and lastly, that this rebuilding of *Jerusalem* and the waste places of *Judah* is predicted in *Micah* vii. 11. *Amos* ix. 11, 14. *Ezek.* xxxvi. 33, 35, 36, 38. *Isa.* liv. 3, 11, 12. lv. 12. lxi. 4. lxv. 18, 21, 22. and *Tobit* xiv. 5. and that the return from captivity and coming of the *Messiah* and his kingdom are described in *Daniel* vii. *Rev.* xix. *Acts* i. *Mat.* xxiv. *Joel* iii. *Ezek.* xxxvi. xxxvii. *Isa.* lx. lxii. lxiii. lxv. and lxvi. and many other places of scripture. The manner I know not. Let time be the Interpreter.

Yet threescore and two weeks shall it return, and the street be built and the wall, but in troublesome times: and after the threescore and two weeks the Messiah shall be cut off, and it shall not be his; but the people of a Prince to come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, &c. Having foretold both comings of *Christ*, and dated the last from their returning and building *Jerusalem*; to prevent the applying that to the building *Jerusalem* by *Nehemiah*, he distinguishes this from that, by saying that from this period to the *Anointed* shall be, not seven weeks, but threescore and two weeks, and this not in prosperous but in troublesome times; and at the end of these weeks the *Messiah* shall
not

not be the Prince of the *Jews*, but be cut off; and *Jerusalem* not be his, but the city and sanctuary be destroyed. Now *Nehemiah* came to *Jerusalem* in the 20th year of this same *Artaxerxes*, while *Ezra* still continued there, *Nehem.* xii. 36, and found the city lying waste, and the houses and wall unbuilt, *Nehem.* ii. 17. vii. 4, and finished the wall the 25th day of the month *Elul*, *Nehem.* vi. 15, in the 28th year of the King, that is, in *September* in the year of the *Julian Period* 4278. Count now from this year threescore and two weeks of years, that is 434 years, and the reckoning will end in *September* in the year of the *Julian Period* 4712 which is the year in which *Christ* was born, according to *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Irenæus*, *Eusebius*, *Epiphanius*, *Jerome*, *Orosius*, *Cassiodorus*, and other antients.; and this was the general opinion, till *Dionysius Exiguus* invented the vulgar account, in which *Christ's* birth is placed two years later. If with some you reckon that *Christ* was born three or four years before the vulgar account, yet his birth will fall in the latter part of the last week, which is enough. How after these weeks *Christ* was cut off, and the city and sanctuary destroyed by the *Romans*, is well known.

Yet

Yet shall he confirm the covenant with many for one week. He kept it, notwithstanding his death, till the rejection of the Jews, and calling of Cornelius and the Gentiles in the seventh year after his passion.

And in half a week he shall cause the sacrifice and oblation to cease; that is, by the war of the Romans upon the Jews: which war, after some commotions, began in the 13th year of Nero, A. D. 67, in the spring, when Vespasian with an army invaded them; and ended in the second year of Vespasian, A. D. 70, in autumn, Sept. 7, when Titus took the city, having burnt the Temple 27 days before: so that it lasted three years and an half.

And upon a wing of abominations he shall cause desolation, even until the consummation, and that which is determined be poured upon the desolate. The Prophets, in representing kingdoms by Beasts and Birds, put their wings stretcht out over any country for their armies sent out to invade and rule over that country. Hence a wing of abominations is an army of false Gods: for an abomination is often put in scripture for a false God; as where *Chemosh* is called the abomination of *Moab*, and *Molech* the abomination of *Ammon*. The meaning therefore is, that the people of a Prince to come shall destroy the sanctuary, and abolish the daily worship

1 Kings xi.
7.

worship of the true God, and overspread the land with an army of false gods; and by setting up their dominion and worship, cause desolation to the *Jews*, until the times of the *Gentiles* be fulfilled. For *Christ* tells us, that the abomination of desolation spoken of by *Daniel* was to be set up in the times of the *Roman Empire*, *Matth.* xxiv. 15.

Thus have we in this short Prophecy, a prediction of all the main periods relating to the coming of the *Messiah*; the time of his birth, that of his death, that of the rejection of the *Jews*, the duration of the *Jewish* war whereby he caused the city and sanctuary to be destroyed, and the time of his second coming: and so the interpretation here given is more full and complete and adequate to the design, than if we should restrain it to his first coming only, as Interpreters usually do. We avoid also the doing violence to the language of *Daniel*, by taking the *seven weeks* and *sixty two weeks* for one number. Had that been *Daniel's* meaning, he would have said *sixty and nine weeks*, and not *seven weeks* and *sixty two weeks*, a way of numbring used by no nation. In our way the years are *Jewish Luni-solar years*,^a as they ought

^a The antient solar years of the eastern nations consisted of 12 months, and every month of 30 days: and hence came the division of a circle into 360 degrees. This year seems to be used by *Moses* in

in his history of the Flood, and by *John* in the *Apocalypse*, where a time, times and half a time, 42 months and 1260 days, are put equipollent. But in reckoning by many of these years together, an account is to be kept of the odd days which were added to the end of these years. For the *Egyptians* added five days to the end of this year; and so did the *Chaldeans* long before the times of *Daniel*, as appears by the *Æra* of *Nabonassar*: and the *Persian* Magi used the same year of 365 days, till the Empire of the *Arabians*. The ancient *Greeks* also used the same solar year of 12 equal months, or 360 days; but every other year added an intercalary month, consisting of 10 and 11 days alternately.

The year of the *Jews*, even from their coming out of *Egypt*, was Luni-solar. It was solar, for the harvest always followed the Passover, and the fruits of the land were always gathered before the feast of Tabernacles, *Levit. xxiii.* But the months were lunar, for the people were commanded by *Moses* in the beginning of every month to blow with trumpets, and offer burnt offerings with their drink offerings, *Num. x. 10. xxviii. 11, 14.* and this solemnity was kept on the new moons, *Psal. lxxxi. 3, 4, 5. 1 Chron. xxiii. 31.* These months were called by *Moses* the first, second, third, fourth month, &c. and the first month was also called *Abib*, the second *Zif*, the seventh *Ethanim*, the eighth *Bull*, *Exod. xiii. 4. 1 Kings vi. 37, 38. viii. 2.* But in the *Babylonian* captivity the *Jews* used the names of the *Chaldean* months, and by those names understood the months of their own year; so that the *Jewish* months then lost their old names, and are now called by those of the *Chaldeans*.

The *Jews* began their civil year from the autumnal Equinox, and their sacred year from the vernal: and the first day of the first month was on the visible new moon, which was nearest the Equinox.

Whether *Daniel* used the *Chaldaick* or *Jewish* year, is not very material; the difference being but six hours in a year, and 4 months in 480 years. But I take his months to be *Jewish*: first, because *Daniel* was a *Jew*, and the *Jews* even by the names of the *Chaldean* months understood the months of their own year: secondly, because this Prophecy is grounded on *Jeremiah's* concerning the 70 years captivity, and therefore must be understood of the same sort of years with the seventy; and those are *Jewish*, since that Prophecy was given in *Judea* before the captivity: and lastly, because *Daniel* reckons by weeks of years, which is a way of reckoning peculiar to the *Jewish* years. For as their days ran by sevens, and the last day of every seven was a sabbath; so their years ran by sevens, and the last year of every seven was a sabbatical year, and seven such weeks of years made a *Jubilee*.

ought to be; and the *seventy weeks of years* are *Jewish weeks* ending with *sabbatical years*, which is very remarkable. For they end either with the year of the birth of *Christ*, two years before the vulgar account, or with the year of his death, or with the seventh year after it: all which are *sabbatical years*. Others either count by Lunar years, or by weeks not *Judaic*: and, which is worst, they ground their interpretations on erroneous Chronology, excepting the opinion of *Funccius* about the *seventy weeks*, which is the same with ours. For they place *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* in the reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and the building of the Temple in the reign of *Darius Nothus*, and date the weeks of *Daniel* from those two reigns.

The grounds of the Chronology here followed, I will now set down as briefly as I can.

The *Peloponnesian* war began in spring *An. Olymp. 87*, as *Diodorus*, *Eusebius*, and all other authors agree. It began two months before *Pythodorus* ceased to be *Archon*, *Thucyd. l. 2.* that is, in *April*, two months before the end of the *Olympic* year. Now the years of this war are most certainly determined by the 50 years distance of its first year from the transit of *Xerxes* inclusively, *Thucyd. l. 2.* or 48 years exclusively, *Eratosth. apud Clem. Alex.* by the 69 years distance of its end, or 27th

year, from the beginning of *Alexander's* reign in *Greece*; by the acting of the *Olympic* games in its 4th and 12th years, *Thucyd. l. 5*; and by three eclipses of the sun, and one of the moon, mentioned by *Thucydides* and *Xenophon*. Now *Thucydides*, an unquestionable witness, tells us, that the news of the death of *Artaxerxes Longimanus* was brought to *Ephesus*, and from thence by some *Athenians* to *Athens*, in the 7th year of this *Peloponnesian* war, when the winter half year was running; and therefore he died *An. 4 Olymp. 88*, in the end of *An. J. P. 4289*, suppose a month or two before mid-winter; for so long the news would be in coming. Now *Artaxerxes Longimanus* reigned 40 years, by the consent of *Diodorus*, *Eusebius*, *Jerome*, *Sulpitius*; or 41, according to *Ptol. in can. Clem. Alexand. l. 1. Strom. Chron. Alexandr. Abulpharagius*, *Nicephorus*, including therein the reign of his successors *Xerxes* and *Sogdian*, as *Abulpharagius* informs us. After *Artaxerxes* reigned his son *Xerxes* two months, and *Sogdian* seven months; but their reign is not reckoned apart in summing up the years of the Kings, but is included in the 40 or 41 years reign of *Artaxerxes*: omit these nine months, and the precise reign of *Artaxerxes* will be thirty nine years and three months. And therefore since his reign ended in the be-
ginning

ginning of winter *An. J. P.* 4289, it began between midsummer and autumn, *An. J. P.* 4250.

The same thing I gather also thus. *Cambyfes* began his reign in spring *An. J. P.* 4185, and reigned eight years, including the five months of *Smerdes*; and then *Darius Hystaspis* began in spring *An. J. P.* 4193, and reigned thirty six years, by the unanimous consent of all Chronologers. The reigns of these two Kings are determined by three eclipses of the moon observed at *Babylon*, and recorded by *Ptolemy*; so that it cannot be disputed. One was in the seventh year of *Cambyfes*, *An. J. P.* 4191, *Jul.* 16, at 11 at night; another in the 20th year of *Darius*, *An. J. P.* 4212, *Nov.* 19, at 11^h. 45' at night; a third in the 31st year of *Darius*, *An. J. P.* 4223, *Apr.* 25, at 11^h. 30' at night. By these eclipses, and the Prophecies of *Haggai* and *Zechary* compared together, it is manifest that his years began after the 24th day of the 11th *Jewish* month, and before the 25th day of *April*, and by consequence about *March*. *Xerxes* therefore began in spring *An. J. P.* 4229: for *Darius* died in the fifth year after the battle at *Marathon*, as *Herodotus*, *lib.* 7, and *Plutarch* mention; and that battle was in *October* *An. J. P.* 4224, ten years before the battle at *Salamis*. *Xerxes* therefore began within less than a year after *October* *An. J. P.* 4228, suppose in the spring following: for he
spent

spent his first five years, and something more, in preparations for his expedition against the *Greeks*; and this expedition was in the time of the *Olympic* games, *An. 1 Olymp. 75, Calliade Athenis Archonte*, 28 years after the *Regifuge*, and Consulship of the first Consul *Junius Brutus*, *Anno Urbis conditæ 273, Fabio & Furio Coss.* The passage of *Xerxes's* army over the *Hellspont* began in the end of the fourth year of the 74th *Olympiad*, that is, in *June An. J. P. 4234*, and took up one month: and in autumn, three months after, on the full moon, the 16th day of the month *Munychion*, was the battle at *Salamis*, and a little after that an eclipse of the sun, which by the calculation fell on *Octob. 2*. His sixth year therefore began a little before *June*, suppose in spring *An. J. P. 4234*, and his first year consequently in spring *An. J. P. 4229*, as above. Now he reigned almost twenty one years, by the consent of all writers. Add the 7 months of *Artabanus*, and the sum will be 21 years and about four or five months, which end between midsummer and autumn *An. J. P. 4250*. At this time therefore began the reign of his successor *Artaxerxes*, as was to be proved.

The same thing is also confirmed by *Julius Africanus*, who informs us out of former writers, that the 20th year of this *Artaxerxes* was the 115th year from the beginning of the reign of
Cyrus

Cyrus in Persia, and fell in with *An. 4 Olymp. 83*. It began therefore with the *Olympic* year, soon after the summer Solstice, *An. J. P. 4269*. Subduct nineteen years, and his first year will begin at the same time of the year *An. J. P. 4250*, as above.

His 7th year therefore began after midsummer *An. J. P. 4256*; and the Journey of *Ezra* to *Jerusalem* in the spring following fell on the beginning of *An. J. P. 4257*, as above.

CHAP.

C H A P. XI.

Of the Times of the Birth and Passion of Christ.

THE times of the Birth and Passion of *Christ*, with such like niceties, being not material to religion, were little regarded by the *Christians* of the first age. They who began first to celebrate them, placed them in the cardinal periods of the year; as the annunciation of the *Virgin Mary*, on the 25th of *March*, which when *Julius Cæsar* corrected the Calendar was the vernal Equinox; the feast of *John Baptist* on the 24th of *June*, which was the summer Solstice; the feast of *St. Michael* on *Sept. 29*, which was the autumnal Equinox; and the birth of *Christ* on the winter Solstice, *Decemb. 25*, with the feasts of *St. Stephen*, *St. John* and the *Innocents*, as near it as they could place them. And because the Solstice in time removed from the 25th of *December* to the 24th, the 23d, the 22d, and so on backwards, hence some in the following centuries placed the birth of *Christ* on *Decemb. 23*, and at length on *Decemb. 20*:
and

and for the same reason they seem to have set the feast of St. *Thomas* on *Decemb.* 21, and that of St. *Matthew* on *Sept.* 21. So also at the entrance of the Sun into all the signs in the *Julian* Calendar, they placed the days of other Saints; as the conversion of *Paul* on *Jan.* 25, when the Sun entred ♊; St. *Matthias* on *Feb.* 25, when he entred ♋; St. *Mark* on *Apr.* 25, when he entred ♈; *Corpus Christi* on *May* 26, when he entred ♊; St. *James* on *July* 25, when he entred ♋; St. *Bartholomew* on *Aug.* 24, when he entred ♌; *Simon and Jude* on *Octob.* 28, when he entred ♏: and if there were any other remarkable days in the *Julian* Calendar, they placed the Saints upon them, as St. *Barnabas* on *June* 11, where *Ovid* seems to place the feast of *Vesta* and *Fortuna*, and the goddess *Matuta*; and St. *Philip* and *James* on the first of *May*, a day dedicated both to the *Bona Dea*, or *Magna Mater*, and to the goddess *Flora*, and still celebrated with her rites. All which shews that these days were fixed in the first *Christian* Calendars by Mathematicians at pleasure, without any ground in tradition; and that the *Christians* afterwards took up with what they found in the Calendars.

Neither was there any certain tradition about the years of *Christ*. For the *Christians* who first began to enquire into these things, as

U

Clemens

Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, Tertullian, Julius Africanus, Lactantius, Jerome, St. Austin, Sulpicius Severus, Prosper, and as many as place the death of *Christ* in the 15th or 16th year of *Tiberius*, make *Christ* to have preached but one year, or at most but two. At length *Eusebius* discovered four successive Passovers in the Gospel of *John*, and thereupon set on foot an opinion that he preacht three years and an half; and so died in the 19th year of *Tiberius*. Others afterwards, finding the opinion that he died in the Equinox *Mar. 25*, more consonant to the times of the *Jewish* Passover, in the 17th and 20th years, have placed his death in one of those two years. Neither is there any greater certainty in the opinions about the time of his birth. The first *Christians* placed his baptism near the beginning of the 15th year of *Tiberius*; and thence reckoning thirty years backwards, placed his birth in the 43d *Julian* year, the 42d of *Augustus* and 28th of the *Actiac* victory. This was the opinion which obtained in the first ages, till *Dionysius Exiguus*, placing the baptism of *Christ* in the 16th year of *Tiberius*, and misinterpreting the text of *Luke*, iii. 23. as if *Jesus* was only beginning to be 30 years old when he was baptized, invented the vulgar account, in which his birth is placed two years later than before. As therefore relating to these things

things there is no tradition worth considering; let us lay aside all and examine what prejudices can be gathered from records of good account.

The fifteenth year of *Tiberius* began *Aug. 28, An. J. P. 4727*. So soon as the winter was over, and the weather became warm enough, we may reckon that *John* began to baptize; and that before next winter his fame went abroad, and all the people came to his baptism, and *Jesus* among the rest. Whence the first Passover after his baptism mentioned *John ii. 13.* was in the 16th year of *Tiberius*. After this feast *Jesus* came into the land of *Judea*, and staid there baptizing, whilst *John* was baptizing in *Ænon*, *John iii. 22, 23.* But when he heard that *John* was cast into prison, he departed into *Galilee*, *Mat. iii. 12.* being afraid, because the Pharisees had heard that he baptized more disciples than *John*, *John iv. 1.* and in his journey he passed thro' *Samaria* four months before the harvest, *John iv. 35.* that is, about the time of the winter Solstice. For their harvest was between *Easter* and *Whitsunday*, and began about a month after the vernal Equinox. Say not ye, saith he, *there are yet four months, and then cometh harvest? Behold I say unto you, lift up your eyes, and look on the fields, for they are white already to harvest;*

meaning, that the people in the fields were ready for the Gospel, as his next words shew^a. *John* there-

^a I observe, that *Christ* and his forerunner *John* in their parabolical discourses were wont to allude to things present. The old Prophets, when they would describe things emphatically, did not only draw parables from things which offered themselves, as from the rent of a garment, *1 Sam. xv.* from the sabbatic year, *Isa. xxxvii.* from the vessels of a Potter, *Jer. xviii.* &c. but also when such fit objects were wanting, they supplied them by their own actions, as by rending a garment, *1 Kings xii.* by shooting, *2 Kings xiii.* by making bare their body, *Isa. xx.* by imposing significant names to their sons, *Isa. viii.* *Hos. i.* by hiding a girdle in the bank of *Euphrates*, *Jer. xiii.* by breaking a potter's vessel, *Jer. xix.* by putting on fetters and yokes, *Jer. xxvii.* by binding a book to a stone, and casting them both into *Euphrates*, *Jer. li.* by besieging a painted city, *Ezek. iv.* by dividing hair into three parts, *Ezek. v.* by making a chain, *Ezek. vii.* by carrying out household stuff like a captive and trembling, *Ezek. xii.* &c. By such kind of types the Prophets loved to speak. And *Christ* being endued with a nobler prophetic spirit than the rest, excelled also in this kind of speaking, yet so as not to speak by his own actions, that was less grave and decent, but to turn into parables such things as offered themselves. On occasion of the harvest approaching, he admonishes his disciples once and again of the spiritual harvest, *John iv. 35.* *Matth. ix. 37.* Seeing the lilies of the field, he admonishes his disciples about gay clothing, *Matth. vi. 28.* In allusion to the present season of fruits, he admonishes his disciples about knowing men by their fruits, *Matth. vii. 16.* In the time of the Passover, when trees put forth leaves, he bids his disciples learn a parable from the fig-tree: when its branch is yet tender and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh, &c. *Matth. xxiv. 32.* *Luke xxi. 29.* The same day, alluding both to the season of the year and to his passion, which was to be two days after, he formed a parable of the time of fruits approaching, and the murdering of the heir, *Matth. xxi. 33.* Alluding at the same time, both to the money-changers whom he had newly driven out of the Temple, and to his passion at hand; he made a parable of a Noble-man going into a far country to receive a kingdom and return, and delivering his goods to his servants, and at his return condemning the slothful servant because he put not his money to the exchangers, *Matth. xxv. 14.* *Luke xix. 12.* Being near the Temple where sheep were kept in folds to be sold for the sacrifices, he spake many things parabolically of sheep, of the shepherd, and of the door of the sheepfold; and discovers that he alluded to the sheepfolds which

therefore was imprisoned about *November*, in the 17th year of *Tiberius*; and *Christ* thereupon

which were to be hired in the market-place, by speaking of such folds as a thief could not enter by the door, nor the shepherd himself open, but a porter opened to the shepherd, *John* x. 1, 3. Being in the mount of *Olives*, *Matth.* xxxvi. 30. *John* xiv. 31. a place so fertile that it could not want vines, he spake many things mystically of the Husbandman, and of the vine and its branches, *John* xv. Meeting a blind man, he admonished of spiritual blindness, *John* ix. 39. At the sight of little children, he described once and again the innocence of the elect, *Matth.* xviii. 2. xix. 13. Knowing that *Lazarus* was dead and should be raised again, he discoursed of the resurrection and life eternal, *John* xi. 25, 26. Hearing of the slaughter of some whom *Pilate* had slain, he admonished of eternal death, *Luke* xiii. 1. To his fishermen he spake of fishers of men, *Matth.* iv. 10. and composed another parable about fishes, *Matth.* xiii. 47. Being by the Temple, he spake of the Temple of his body, *John* ii. 19. At supper he spake a parable about the mystical supper to come in the kingdom of heaven, *Luke* xiv. On occasion of temporal food, he admonished his disciples of spiritual food, and of eating his flesh and drinking his blood mystically, *John* vi. 27, 53. When his disciples wanted bread, he bad them beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, *Matth.* xvi. 6. Being desired to eat, he answered that he had other meat, *John* iv. 31. In the great day of the feast of Tabernacles, when the *Jews*, as their custom was, brought a great quantity of waters from the river *Shiloah* into the Temple, *Christ* stood and cried, saying, *If any man thirst let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth in me, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water,* *John* vii. 37. The next day, in allusion to the servants who by reason of the sabbatical year were newly set free, he said, *If ye continue in my word, the truth shall make you free.* Which the *Jews* understanding literally with respect to the present manumission of servants, answered, *We be Abraham's seed, and were never in bondage to any man: how sayest thou, ye shall be made free?* *John* viii. They assert their freedom by a double argument: first, because they were the seed of *Abraham*, and therefore newly made free, had they been ever in bondage; and then, because they never were in bondage. In the last Passover, when *Herod* led his army thro' *Judea* against *Aretas* King of *Arabia*, because *Aretas* was aggressor and the stronger in military forces, as appeared by the event; *Christ* alluding to that state of things, composed the parable of a weaker King leading his army against a stronger who made war upon him, *Luke* xiv. 31. And I doubt not but divers other parables were formed upon other occasions, the history of which we have not.

upon went from *Judea* to *Cana* of *Galilee* in *December*, and was received there of the *Galileans*, who had seen all he did at *Jerusalem* at the *Passover*: and when a Nobleman of *Capernaum* heard he was returned into *Galilee*, and went to him and desired him to come and cure his son, he went not thither yet, but only said, *Go thy way, thy son liveth*; and the Nobleman returned and found it so, and believed, he and his house, *John iv.* This is the beginning of his miracles in *Galilee*; and thus far *John* is full and distinct in relating the actions of his first year, omitted by the other Evangelists. The rest of his history is from this time related more fully by the other Evangelists than by *John*; for what they relate he omits.

From this time therefore *Jesus* taught in the Synagogues of *Galilee* on the sabbath-days, being glorified of all: and coming to his own city *Nazareth*, and preaching in their Synagogue, they were offended, and thrust him out of the city, and led him to the brow of the hill on which the city was built to cast him headlong; but he passing thro' the midst of them, went his way, and came and dwelt at *Capernaum*, *Luke iv.* And by this time we may reckon the second *Passover* was either past or at hand.

All

All this time *Matthew* passeth over in few words, and here begins to relate the preaching and miracles of *Christ*. When *Jesus*, saith he, had heard that *John* was cast into prison, he departed into *Galilee*; and leaving *Nazareth*, he came and dwelt at *Capernaum*, and from that time began to preach and say, Repent, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand, *Matth.* iv. 12. Afterwards he called his disciples *Peter*, *Andrew*, *James* and *John*; and then went about all *Galilee*, teaching in the *Synagogues*,—and healing all manner of sickness:—and his fame went thro' out all *Syria*; and they brought unto him all sick people,—and there followed him great multitudes of people from *Galilee*, and from *Decapolis*, and from *Jerusalem*, and from *Judea*, and from beyond *Jordan*, *Matth.* iv. 18, 25. All this was done before the sermon in the mount: and therefore we may certainly reckon that the second *Passover* was past before the preaching of that sermon. The multitudes that followed him from *Jerusalem* and *Judea*, shew that he had lately been there at the feast. The sermon in the mount was made when great multitudes came to him from all places, and followed him in the open fields; which is an argument of the summer-season: and in this sermon he pointed at the lilies of the field then in the flower before the eyes of his auditors. Consider, saith he, the lilies of the field, how they

they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin; and yet Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. Wherefore if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to day is and to morrow is cast into the oven, &c. Matth. vi. 28. So therefore the grass of the field was now in the flower, and by consequence the month of *March* with the Passover was past.

Let us see therefore how the rest of the feasts follow in order in *Matthew's* Gospel: for he was an eye-witness of what he relates, and so tells all things in due order of time, which *Mark* and *Luke* do not.

Some time after the sermon in the mount, when the time came that he should be received, that is, when the time of a feast came that he should be received by the *Jews*, he set his face to go to *Jerusalem*: and as he went with his disciples in the way, when the *Samaritans* in his passage thro' *Samaria* had denied him lodgings, and a certain Scribe said unto him, *Master, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest*, Jesus said unto him, *The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head*, Matth. viii. 19. Luke ix. 51, 57. The Scribe told *Christ* he would bear him company in his journey, and *Christ* replied that he wanted a lodging. Now this feast I take to be the feast of *Tabernacles*,
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because soon after I find *Christ* and his Apostles on the sea of *Tiberias* in a storm so great, that the ship was covered with water and in danger of sinking, till *Christ rebuked the winds and the sea*, Matth. viii. 23. For this storm shews that winter was now come on.

After this *Christ* did many miracles, and went about all the cities and villages of Galilee, teaching in their Synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every sickness, and every disease among the people, Matth. ix. he then sent forth the twelve to do the like, Matth. x. and at length when he had received a message from *John*, and answered it, he said to the multitudes, *From the days of John the Baptist until now the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence*; and upbraided the cities, *Chorazin, Bethsaida, and Capernaum*, wherein most of his mighty works were done, because they repented not, Matth. xi. Which several passages shew, that from the imprisonment of *John* till now there had been a considerable length of time: the winter was now past, and the next Passover was at hand; for immediately after this, *Matthew*, in chap. xii. subjoins, that *Jesus went on the sabbath-day thro' the corn, and his disciples were an hungred, and began to pluck the ears of corn and to eat,—rubbing them*, saith *Luke*, in their hands: the corn therefore was not only in the ear, but ripe; and consequently
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the Passover, in which the first-fruits were always offered before the harvest, was now come or past. *Luke* calls this sabbath δευτερόπρωτον, the second prime sabbath, that is, the second of the two great feasts of the Passover. As we call *Easter* day high *Easter*, and its *octave* low *Easter* or *Lowsunday*: so *Luke* calls the feast on the seventh day of the unleavened bread, the second of the two prime sabbaths.

In one of the sabbaths following he went into a Synagogue, and healed a man with a withered hand, *Matth.* xii. 9. *Luke* vi. 6. And when the Pharisees took counsel to destroy him, *he withdrew himself from thence, and great multitudes followed him; and he healed them all, and charged them that they should not make him known,* *Matth.* xii. 14. Afterwards being in a ship, and the multitude standing on the shore, he spake to them three parables together, taken from the seeds-men sowing the fields, *Matth.* xiii. by which we may know that it was now seed-time, and by consequence that the feast of Tabernacles was past. After this he went into his own country, and taught them in their Synagogue, but did not many mighty works there because of their unbelief. Then the twelve having been abroad a year, returned, and told *Jesus* all that they had done: and at the same time *Herod* beheaded *John*
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in prison, and his disciples came and told *Jesus*; and when *Jesus* heard it, he took the twelve and departed thence privately by ship into a desert place belonging to *Bethsaida*: and the people when they knew it, followed him on foot out of the cities, the winter being now past; and he healed their sick, and in the desert fed them to the number of five thousand men, besides women and children, with only five loaves and two fishes, *Matth.* xiv. *Luke* ix. at the doing of which miracle the Passover of the *Jews* was nigh, *John* vi. 4. But *Jesus* went not up to this feast; but *after these things walked in Galilee, because the Jews at the Passover before had taken counsel to destroy him, and still sought to kill him,* *John* vii. 1. Henceforward therefore he is found first in the coast of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, then by the sea of *Galilee*, afterwards in the coast of *Cæsarea Philippi*; and lastly at *Capernaum*, *Matth.* xv. 21, 29. xvi. 13. xvii. 34.

Afterwards when the feast of Tabernacles was at hand, his brethren upbraided him for walking secretly, and urged him to go up to the feast. But he went not till they were gone, and then went up privately, *John* vii. 2. and when the *Jews* sought to stone him, he escaped, *John* viii. 59. After this he was at the feast of the Dedication in winter, *John* x. 22. and when they sought again to take him, he fled beyond *Jordan*,

dan, *John* x. 39, 40. *Matth.* xix. 1. where he stayed till the death of *Lazarus*, and then came to *Bethany* near *Jerusalem*, and raised him, *John* xi. 7, 18. whereupon the *Jews* took counsel from that time to kill him: and therefore he walked no more openly among the *Jews*, but went thence into a country near to the wilderness, into a city called *Ephraim*; and there continued with his disciples till the last Passover, in which the *Jews* put him to death, *John* xi. 53, 54.

Thus have we, in the Gospels of *Matthew* and *John* compared together, the history of *Christ's* actions in continual order during five Passovers. *John* is more distinct in the beginning and end; *Matthew* in the middle: what either omits, the other supplies. The first Passover was between the baptism of *Christ* and the imprisonment of *John*, *John* ii. 13. the second within four months after the imprisonment of *John*, and *Christ's* beginning to preach in *Galilee*, *John* iv. 35. and therefore it was either that feast to which *Jesus* went up, when the Scribe desired to follow him, *Matth.* viii. 19. *Luke* ix. 51, 57. or the feast before it. The third was the next feast after it, when the corn was eared and ripe, *Matth.* xii. 1. *Luke* vi. 1. The fourth was that which was nigh at hand when *Christ* wrought the miracle of the five loaves, *Matth.* xiv.

xiv. 15. *John* vi. 4, 5. and the fifth was that in which *Christ* suffered, *Matth.* xx. 17. *John* xii. 1.

Between the first and second Passover *John* and *Christ* baptized together, till the imprisonment of *John*, which was four months before the second. Then *Christ* began to preach, and call his disciples; and after he had instructed them a year, sent them to preach in the cities of the *Jews*: at the same time *John* hearing of the fame of *Christ*, sent to him to know who he was. At the third, the chief Priests began to consult about the death of *Christ*. A little before the fourth, the twelve after they had preached a year in all the cities, returned to *Christ*; and at the same time *Herod* beheaded *John* in prison, after he had been in prison two years and a quarter: and thereupon *Christ* fled into the desert for fear of *Herod*. The fourth *Christ* went not up to *Jerusalem* for fear of the *Jews*, who at the Passover before had consulted his death, and because his time was not yet come. Thenceforward therefore till the feast of Tabernacles he walked in *Galilee*, and that secretly for fear of *Herod*: and after the feast of Tabernacles he returned no more into *Galilee*, but sometimes was at *Jerusalem*, and sometimes retired beyond *Jordan*, or to the city *Ephraim* by the wilderness, till the Passover in which he was betrayed, apprehended, and crucified.

John

John therefore baptized two summers, and *Christ* preached three. The first summer *John* preached to make himself known, in order to give testimony to *Christ*. Then, after *Christ* came to his baptism and was made known to him, he baptized another summer, to make *Christ* known by his testimony; and *Christ* also baptized the same summer, to make himself the more known: and by reason of *John's* testimony there came more to *Christ's* baptism than to *John's*. The winter following *John* was imprisoned; and now his course being at an end, *Christ* entred upon his proper office of preaching in the cities. In the beginning of his preaching he completed the number of the twelve Apostles, and instructed them all the first year in order to send them abroad. Before the end of this year, his fame by his preaching and miracles was so far spread abroad, that the *Jews* at the Passover following consulted how to kill him. In the second year of his preaching, it being no longer safe for him to converse openly in *Judea*, he sent the twelve to preach in all their cities: and in the end of the year they returned to him, and told him all they had done. All the last year the twelve continued with him to be instructed more perfectly, in order to their preaching to all nations after his death. And upon the news of *John's* death,

death, being afraid of *Herod* as well as of the *Jews*, he walked this year more secretly than before; frequenting desarts, and spending the last half of the year in *Judea*, without the dominions of *Herod*.

Thus have we in the Gospels of *Matthew* and *John* all things told in due order, from the beginning of *John's* preaching to the death of *Christ*, and the years distinguished from one another by such essential characters that they cannot be mistaken. The second Passover is distinguished from the first, by the interposition of *John's* imprisonment. The third is distinguished from the second, by a double character: first, by the interposition of the feast to which *Christ* went up, *Mat.* viii. 19. *Luke* ix. 57. and secondly, by the distance of time from the beginning of *Christ's* preaching: for the second was in the beginning of his preaching, and the third so long after, that before it came *Christ* said, *from the days of John the Baptist until now, &c.* and upbraided the cities of *Galilee* for their not repenting at his preaching, and mighty works done in all that time. The fourth is distinguished from the third, by the mission of the twelve from *Christ* to preach in the cities of *Judea* in all the interval. The fifth is distinguished from all the former by the twelve's being returned from preaching, and
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continuing with *Christ* during all the interval, between the fourth and fifth, and by the passion and other infallible characters.

Now since the first summer of *John's* baptizing fell in the fifteenth year of the Emperor *Tiberius*, and by consequence the first of these five Passovers in his sixteenth year; the last of them, in which *Jesus* suffered, will fall on the twentieth year of the same Emperor; and by consequence in the Consulship of *Fabius* and *Vitellius*, in the 79th *Julian* year, and year of *Christ* 34, which was the sabbatical year of the *Jews*. And that it did so, I further confirm by these arguments.

I take it for granted that the passion was on friday the 14th day of the month *Nisan*, the great feast of the Passover on saturday the 15th day of *Nisan*, and the resurrection on the day following. Now the 14th day of *Nisan* always fell on the full moon next after the vernal Equinox; and the month began at the new moon before, not at the true conjunction, but at the first appearance of the new moon: for the *Jews* referred all the time of the silent moon, as they phrased it, that is, of the moon's disappearing, to the old moon; and because the first appearance might usually be about 18 hours after the true conjunction, they therefore began their month from the sixth hour

at evening, that is, at sun set, next after the eighteenth hour from the conjunction. And this rule they called *י' יח*, *Yah*, designing by the letters, and *יח* the number 18.

I know that *Epiphanius* tells us, if some interpret his words rightly, that the *Jews* used a vicious cycle, and thereby anticipated the legal new moons by two days. But this surely he spake not as a witness, for he neither understood *Astronomy* nor *Rabbinical* learning, but as arguing from his erroneous hypothesis about the time of the passion. For the *Jews* did not anticipate, but postpone their months: they thought it lawful to begin their months a day later than the first appearance of the new moon, because the new moon continued for more days than one; but not a day sooner, lest they should celebrate the new moon before there was any. And the *Jews* still keep a tradition in their books, that the *Sanhedrim* used diligently to define the new moons by sight: sending witnesses into mountainous places, and examining them about the moon's appearing, and translating the new moon from the day they had agreed on to the day before, as often as witnesses came from distant regions, who had seen it a day sooner than it was seen at *Jerusalem*. Accordingly *Josephus*, one of the *Jewish* Priests

Joseph.
Antiq. lib.
3. c. 10.

Priests who had ministred in the temple, tells us that the Passover was kept on the 14th day of Nisan, καὶ σελῶλυ, according to the moon, when the sun was in Aries. This is confirmed also by two instances, recorded by him, which totally overthrow the hypothesis of the Jews using a vicious cycle. For that year in which Jerusalem was taken and destroyed, he saith, the Passover was on the 14th day of the month Xanticus, which according to Josephus is our April; and that five years before, it fell on the 8th day of the same month. Which two instances agree with the course of the moon.

Computing therefore the new moons of the first month according to the course of the moon and the rule *Jah*, and thence counting 14 days, I find that the 14th day of this month in the year of Christ 31, fell on tuesday March 27; in the year 32, on sunday Apr. 13; in the year 33, on friday Apr. 3; in the year 34, on wednesday March 24, or rather, for avoiding the Equinox which fell on the same day, and for having a fitter time for harvest, on thursday Apr. 22. also in the year 35, on tuesday Apr. 12. and in the year 36, on saturday March 31.

But because the 15th and 21st days of Nisan, and a day or two of Pentecost, and the 10th, 15th, and 22d of Tisri, were always sabbatical days or days of rest, and it was inconvenient on

two sabbaths together to be prohibited burying their dead and making ready fresh meat, for in that hot region their meat would be apt in two days to corrupt: to avoid these and such like inconveniences, the *Jews* postponed their months a day, as often as the first day of the month *Tisri*, or, which is all one, the third of the month *Nisan*, was sunday, wednesday or friday: and this rule they called אדו *Adu*, by the letters א, ד, ו, signifying the numbers 1, 4, 6; that is, the 1st, 4th, and 6th days of the week; which days we call sunday, wednesday and friday. Postponing therefore by this rule the months found above; the 14th day of the month *Nisan* will fall in the year of *Christ* 31, on wednesday *March* 28; in the year 32, on monday *Apr.* 14; in the year 33, on friday *Apr.* 3; in the year 34, on friday *Apr.* 23; in the year 35, on wednesday *Apr.* 13; and in the year 36, on saturday *March* 31.

By this computation therefore the year 32 is absolutely excluded, because the *Passion* cannot fall on friday without making it five days after the full moon, or two days before it; whereas it ought to be upon the day of the full moon, or the next day. For the same reason the years 31 and 35 are excluded, because in them the *Passion* cannot fall on friday, without making it three days after the full moon,

or four days before it: errors so enormous, that they would be very conspicuous in the heavens to every vulgar eye. The year 36 is contended for by few or none, and both this and the year 35 may be thus excluded.

Tiberius in the beginning of his reign made *Valerius Gratus* President of *Judea*; and after 11 years, substituted *Pontius Pilate*, who governed 10 years. Then *Vitellius*, newly made President of *Syria*, deprived him of his honour, substituting *Marcellus*, and at length sent him to *Rome*: but, by reason of delays, *Tiberius* died before *Pilate* got thither. In the meantime *Vitellius*, after he had deposed *Pilate*, came to *Jerusalem* in the time of the Passover, to visit that Province as well as others in the beginning of his office; and in the place of *Caiaphas*, then High Priest, created *Jonathas* the son of *Ananus*, or *Annas* as he is called in scripture. Afterwards, when *Vitellius* was returned to *Antioch*, he received letters from *Tiberius*, to make peace with *Artabanus* king of the *Parthians*. At the same time the *Alans*, by the sollicitation of *Tiberius*, invaded the kingdom of *Artabanus*; and his subjects also, by the procurement of *Vitellius*, soon after rebelled: for *Tiberius* thought that *Artabanus*, thus pressed with difficulties, would more readily accept the conditions of peace. *Artabanus* there-

therefore straightway gathering a greater army, oppressed the rebels; and then meeting *Vitellius* at *Euphrates*, made a league with the *Romans*. After this *Tiberius* commanded *Vitellius* to make war upon *Aretas* King of *Arabia*. He therefore leading his army against *Aretas*, went together with *Herod* to *Jerusalem*, to sacrifice at the publick feast which was then to be celebrated. Where being received honourably, he stayed three days, and in the meanwhile translated the high Priesthood from *Jonathas* to his brother *Theophilus*: and the fourth day, receiving letters of the death of *Tiberius*, made the people swear allegiance to *Caius* the new Emperor; and recalling his army, sent them into quarters. All this is related by *Josephus Antiq. lib. 18. c. 6, 7*. Now *Tiberius* reigned 22 years and 7 months, and died *March 16*, in the beginning of the year of *Christ* 37; and the feast of the Passover fell on *April 20* following, that is, 35 days after the death of *Tiberius*: so that there were about 36 or 38 days, for the news of his death to come from *Rome* to *Vitellius* at *Jerusalem*; which being a convenient time for that message, confirms that the feast which *Vitellius* and *Herod* now went up to was the Passover. For had it been the Pentecost, as is usually supposed, *Vitellius* would have continued three months ignorant

ignorant of the Emperor's death: which is not to be supposed. However, the things done between this feast and the Passover which *Vitellius* was at before, namely, the stirring up a sedition in *Parthia*, the quieting that sedition, the making a league after that with the *Parthians*, the sending news of that league to *Rome*, the receiving new orders from thence to go against the *Arabians*, and the putting those orders in execution; required much more time than the fifty days between the Passover and Pentecost of the same year: and therefore the Passover which *Vitellius* first went up to, was in the year before. Therefore *Pilate* was deposed before the Passover A. C. 36, and by consequence the passion of *Christ* was before that Passover: for he suffered not under *Vitellius*, nor under *Vitellius* and *Pilate* together, but under *Pilate* alone.

Now it is observable that the high Priesthood was at this time become an annual office, and the Passover was the time of making a new high Priest. For *Gratus* the predecessor of *Pilate*, saith *Josephus*, made *Ismael* high Priest after *Ananus*; and a while after, suppose a year, deposed him, and substituted *Eleazar*, and a year after *Simon*, and after another year *Caia-phas*; and then gave way to *Pilate*. So *Vitellius* at one Passover made *Jonathas* successor
to

to *Caiaphas*, and at the next *Theophilus* to *Jonathas*. Hence *Luke* tells us, that in the 15th year of *Tiberius*, *Annas* and *Caiaphas* were high Priests, that is, *Annas* till the Passover, and *Caiaphas* afterwards. Accordingly *John* speaks of the high Priesthood as an annual office: for he tells us again and again, in the last year of *Christ's* preaching, that *Caiaphas* was high Priest for that year, *John* xi. 49, 51. xviii. 13. And the next year *Luke* tells you, that *Annas* was high Priest, *Acts* iv. 6. *Theophilus* was therefore made high Priest in the first year of *Caius*, *Jonathas* in the 22d year of *Tiberius*, and *Caiaphas* in the 21st year of the same Emperor: and therefore, allotting a year to each, the Passion, when *Annas* succeeded *Caiaphas*, could not be later than the 20th year of *Tiberius*, A. C. 34.

Thus there remain only the years 33 and 34 to be considered; and the year 33 I exclude by this argument. In the Passover two years before the Passion, when *Christ* went thro' the corn, and his disciples pluckt the ears, and rubbed them with their hands to eat; this ripeness of the corn shews that the Passover then fell late: and so did the Passover A. C. 32, *April* 14. but the Passover A. C. 31, *March* 28th, fell very early. It was
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not therefore two years after the year 31, but two years after 32 that *Christ* suffered.

Thus all the characters of the Passion agree to the year 34; and that is the only year to which they all agree.

CHAP.

C H A P. XII.

Of the Prophecy of the Scripture of Truth.

TH E kingdoms represented by the second and third Beasts, or the Bear and Leopard, are again described by *Daniel* in his last Prophecy written in the third year of *Cyrus* over *Babylon*, the year in which he conquered *Persia*. For this Prophecy is a commentary upon the Vision of the Ram and He-Goat.

Behold, saith he, *there shall stand up yet* Chap. xi.
2, 3, 4.
three kings in Persia, [Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius Hystaspes] and the fourth [Xerxes] shall be far richer than they all: and by his strength thro' his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia. And a mighty king [Alexander the great] shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will. And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity [but after their death,] nor according to his dominion which he ruled: for

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his kingdom shall be pluckt up, even for others besides those. *Alexander* the great having conquered all the *Persian* Empire, and some part of *India*, died at *Babylon* a month before the summer Solstice, in the year of *Nabonassar* 425: and his captains gave the monarchy to his bastard brother *Philip Aridaeus*, a man disturbed in his understanding; and made *Perdiccas* administrator of the kingdom. *Perdiccas* with their consent made *Meleager* commander of the army, *Seleucus* master of the horse, *Craterus* treasurer of the kingdom, *Antipater* governor of *Macedon* and *Greece*, *Ptolemy* governor of *Egypt*; *Antigonus* governor of *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Lycaonia*, and *Phrygia* major; *Lysimachus* governor of *Thrace*, and other captains governors of other Provinces; as many as had been so before in the days of *Alexander* the great. The *Babylonians* began now to count by a new *Æra*, which they called the *Æra* of *Philip*, using the years of *Nabonassar*, and reckoning the 425th year of *Nabonassar* to be the first year of *Philip*. *Roxana* the wife of *Alexander* being left big with child, and about three or four months after brought to bed of a son, they called him *Alexander*, saluted him King, and joined him with *Philip*, whom they had before placed in the throne. *Philip* reigned three years under the administration of *Perdiccas*, two years more under the

the administratorship of *Antipater*, and above a year more under that of *Polyperchon*; in all six years and four months; and then was slain with his Queen *Eurydice* in *September* by the command of *Olympias* the mother of *Alexander* the great. The *Greeks* being disgusted at the cruelties of *Olympias*, revolted to *Cassander* the son and successor of *Antipater*. *Cassander* affecting the dominion of *Greece*, slew *Olympias*; and soon after shut up the young king *Alexander*, with his mother *Roxana*, in the castle of *Amphipolis*, under the charge of *Glaucias*, *An. Nabonass.* 432. The next year *Ptolemy*, *Cassander* and *Lyfimachus*, by means of *Seleucus*, form'd a league against *Antigonus*; and after certain wars made peace with him, *An. Nabonass.* 438, upon these conditions: that *Cassander* should command the forces of *Europe* till *Alexander* the son of *Roxana* came to age; and that *Lyfimachus* should govern *Thrace*, *Ptolemy* *Egypt* and *Lybia*, and *Antigonus* all *Asia*. *Seleucus* had possess'd himself of *Mesopotamia*, *Babylonia*, *Susiana* and *Media*, the year before. About three years after *Alexander's* death he was made governor of *Babylon* by *Antipater*; then was expelled by *Antigonus*; but now he recovered and enlarged his government over a great part of the *East*: which gave occasion to a new *Æra*, called *Æra Seleucidarum*.

darum. Not long after the peace made with *Antigonus*, *Diodorus* saith the same *Olympic* year; *Cassander*, seeing that *Alexander* the son of *Roxana* grew up, and that it was discoursed thro'out *Macedonia* that it was fit he should be set at liberty, and take upon him the government of his father's kingdom, commanded *Glaucias* the governor of the castle to kill *Roxana* and the young king *Alexander* her son, and conceal their deaths. Then *Polyperchon* set up *Hercules*, the son of *Alexander* the great by *Barsinè*, to be king; and soon after, at the sollicitation of *Cassander*, caused him to be slain. Soon after that, upon a great victory at sea got by *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus* over *Ptolemy*, *Antigonus* took upon himself the title of king, and gave the same title to his son. This was *An. Nabonass. 441.* After his example, *Seleucus*, *Cassander*, *Lyfimachus* and *Ptolemy*, took upon themselves the title and dignity of kings, having abstained from this honour while there remained any of *Alexander's* race to inherit the crown. Thus the monarchy of the *Greeks* for want of an heir was broken into several kingdoms; four of which, seated to the four winds of heaven, were very eminent. For *Ptolemy* reigned over *Egypt*, *Lybia* and *Ethiopia*; *Antigonus* over *Syria* and the lesser *Asia*; *Lyfi-*

Lyfimachus over *Thrace*; and *Cassander* over *Macedon*, *Greece* and *Epirus*, as above.

Seleucus at this time reigned over the nations which were beyond *Euphrates*, and belonged to the bodies of the two first Beasts; but after six years he conquered *Antigonus*, and thereby became possessor of one of the four kingdoms. For *Cassander* being afraid of the power of *Antigonus*, combined with *Lyfimachus*, *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus*, against him: and while *Lyfimachus* invaded the parts of *Asia* next the *Hellepont*, *Ptolemy* subdued *Phœnicia* and *Cœlosyria*, with the sea-coasts of *Asia*.

Seleucus came down with a powerful army into *Cappadocia*, and joining the confederate forces, fought *Antigonus* in *Phrygia* and slew him, and seized his kingdom, *An. Nabonass. 447*. After which *Seleucus* built *Antioch*, *Seleucia*, *Laodicea*, *Apamea*, *Berrhæa*, *Edeffa*, and other cities in *Syria* and *Asia*; and in them granted the *Jews* equal privileges with the *Greeks*.

Demetrius the son of *Antigonus* retained but a small part of his father's dominions, and at length lost *Cyprus* to *Ptolemy*; but afterwards killing *Alexander*, the son and successor of *Cassander* king of *Macedon*, he seized his kingdom, *An. Nabonass. 454*. Sometime after, preparing a very great army to recover his father's dominions in *Asia*; *Seleucus*, *Ptolemy*, *Lyfimachus* and *Pyr-
rhus*

rrhus king of *Epirus*, combined against him ; and *Pyrrhus* invading *Macedon*, corrupted the army of *Demetrius*, put him to flight, seized his kingdom, and shared it with *Lyfimachus*. After seven months, *Lyfimachus* beating *Pyrrhus*, took *Macedon* from him, and held it five years and a half, uniting the kingdoms of *Macedon* and *Thrace*. *Lyfimachus* in his wars with *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, had taken from them *Caria*, *Lydia*, and *Phrygia* ; and had a treasury in *Pergamus*, a castle on the top of a conical hill in *Phrygia*, by the river *Caicus*, the custody of which he had committed to one *Philetærus*, who was at first faithful to him, but in the last year of his reign revolted. For *Lyfimachus*, having at the instigation of his wife *Arsinoe*, slain first his own son *Agathocles*, and then several that lamented him ; the wife of *Agathocles* fled with her children and brothers, and some others of their friends, and solicited *Seleucus* to make war upon *Lyfimachus* ; whereupon *Philetærus* also, who grieved at the death of *Agathocles*, and was accused thereof by *Arsinoe*, took up arms, and sided with *Seleucus*. On this occasion *Seleucus* and *Lyfimachus* met and fought in *Phrygia* ; and *Lyfimachus* being slain in the battel, lost his kingdom to *Seleucus*, *An. Nabonass. 465*. Thus the Empire of the *Greeks*, which at first brake into four king-

kingdoms, became now reduced into two notable ones, henceforward called by *Daniel* the kings of the *South* and *North*. For *Ptolemy* now reigned over *Egypt*, *Lybia*, *Ethiopia*, *Arabia*, *Phœnicia*, *Cœlosyria*, and *Cyprus*; and *Seleucus*, having united three of the four kingdoms, had a dominion scarce inferior to that of the *Persian* Empire, conquered by *Alexander* the great. All which is thus represented by *Daniel*: *And* Chap. xi. 5.
the king of the South [*Ptolemy*] *shall be strong, and one of his Princes* [*Seleucus*, one of *Alexander's* Princes] *shall be strong above him, and have dominion; his dominion shall be a great dominion.*

After *Seleucus* had reigned seven months over *Macedon*, *Greece*, *Thrace*, *Asia*, *Syria*, *Babylonia*, *Media*, and all the *East* as far as *India*; *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, the younger brother of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* king of *Egypt*, slew him treacherously, and seized his dominions in *Europe*: while *Antiochus Soter*, the son of *Seleucus*, succeeded his father in *Asia*, *Syria*, and most of the *East*; and after nineteen or twenty years was succeeded by his son *Antiochus Theos*; who having a lasting war with *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, at length composed the same by marrying *Berenice* the daughter of *Philadelphus*: but after a reign of fifteen years, his first wife *Laodice* poisoned him, and set her son *Seleucus*.

cus Callinicus upon the throne. *Callinicus* in the beginning of his reign, by the impulse of his mother *Laodice*, besieged *Berenice* in *Daphne* near *Antioch*, and slew her with her young son and many of her women. Whereupon *Ptolemy Euergetes*, the son and successor of *Philadelphus*, made war upon *Callinicus*; took from him *Phœnicia*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Babylonia*, *Susiana*, and some other regions; and carried back into *Egypt* 40000 talents of silver, and 2500 images of the Gods, amongst which were the Gods of *Egypt* carried away by *Cambyses*. *Antiochus Hierax* at first assisted his brother *Callinicus*, but afterwards contended with him for *Asia*. In the mean time *Eumenes* governor of *Pergamus* beat *Antiochus*, and took from them both all *Asia* westward of mount *Taurus*. This was in the fifth year of *Callinicus*, who after an inglorious reign of 20 years was succeeded by his son *Seleucus Ceraunus*; and *Euergetes* after four years more, *An. Natonass.* 527, was succeeded by his son *Ptolemy Philopator*. All which is thus signified by *Daniel*: And in the end of years they [the kings of the South and North] shall join themselves together: for the king's daughter of the South [*Berenice*] shall come to the king of the North to make an agreement, but she shall not retain the power of the arm; neither shall she

Chap. xi.
6, 7, 8.

she stand, nor her seed, but she shall be delivered up, and he [Callinicus] that brought her, and he whom she brought forth, and they that strengthened her in [those] times, [or defended her in the siege of Daphne.] But out of a branch of her roots shall one stand up in his seat [her brother Euergetes] who shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortress [or fenced cities] of the king of the North, and shall act against them and prevail: and shall carry captives into Egypt, their Gods with their Princes and precious vessels of silver and gold; and he shall continue some years after the king of the North.

Seleucus Ceraunus, inheriting the remains of his father's kingdom, and thinking to recover the rest, raised a great army against the governor of Pergamus, now King thereof, but died in the third year of his reign. His brother and successor, Antiochus Magnus, carrying on the war, took from the King of Pergamus almost all the lesser Asia, recovering also the Provinces of Media, Persia and Babylonia, from the governors who had revolted: and in the fifth year of his reign invading Cælosyria, he with little opposition possessed himself of a good part thereof; and the next year returning to invade the rest of Cælosyria and Phœnicia, beat the army of Ptolemy Philopator near Berytus; he then in-

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vaded *Palestine* and the neighbouring parts of *Arabia*, and the third year returned with an army of 78000: but *Ptolemy* coming out of *Egypt* with an army of 75000, fought and routed him at *Raphia* near *Gaza*, between *Palestine* and *Egypt*; and recovered all *Phœnicia* and *Cœlosyria*, *Ann. Nabonass. 532*. Being puffed up with this victory, and living in all manner of luxury, the *Egyptians* revolted, and had wars with him, but were overcome; and in the broils sixty thousand *Egyptian Jews* were slain. All which is thus described by *Daniel*: But his sons [*Seleucus Ceraunus*, and *Antiochus Magnus*, the sons of *Callinicus*] shall be stirred up, and shall gather a great army; and he [*Antiochus Magnus*] shall come effectually and overflow, and pass thro' and return, and [again the next year] be stirred up [marching even] to his fortress, [the frontier towns of *Egypt*;] and the King of the South shall be moved with choler, and come forth [the third year] and fight with him, even with the King of the North; and he [the King of the North] shall lead forth a great multitude, but the multitude shall be given into his hand. And the multitude being taken away, his heart shall be lifted up, and he shall cast down many ten thousands; but he shall not be strengthened by it: for the king of the North shall return, &c.

Chap. xi.
10, &c.

About

About twelve years after the battle between *Philopator* and *Antiochus*, *Philopator* died; and left his kingdom to his young son *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, a child of five years old. Thereupon *Antiochus Magnus* confederated with *Philip* king of *Macedon*, that they should each invade the dominions of *Epiphanes* which lay next to them. Hence arose a various war between *Antiochus* and *Epiphanes*, each of them seizing *Phœnicia* and *Cœlosyria* by turns; whereby those countries were much afflicted by both parties. First *Antiochus* seized them; then one *Scopas* being sent with the army of *Egypt*, recovered them from *Antiochus*: the next year, *An. Nabonass. 550*, *Antiochus* fought and routed *Scopas* near the fountains of *Jordan*, besieged him in *Sidon*, took the city, and recovered *Syria* and *Phœnicia* from *Egypt*, the *Jews* coming over to him voluntarily. But about three years after, preparing for a war against the *Romans*, he came to *Raphia* on the borders of *Egypt*; made peace with *Epiphanes*, and gave him his daughter *Cleopatra*: next autumn he passed the *Hellespont* to invade the cities of *Greece* under the *Roman* protection, and took some of them; but was beaten by the *Romans* the summer following, and forced to return back with his army into *Asia*. Before the end of the year the fleet of *Antiochus* was beaten by the fleet of

the *Romans* near *Phocæa*: and at the same time *Epiphanes* and *Cleopatra* sent an embassy to *Rome* to congratulate the *Romans* on their success against their father *Antiochus*, and to exhort them to prosecute the war against him into *Asia*. The *Romans* beat *Antiochus* again at sea near *Ephesus*, past their army over the *Hellepont*, and obtain'd a great victory over him by land, took from him all *Asia* westward of mount *Taurus*, gave it to the King of *Pergamus* who assisted them in the war; and imposed a large tribute upon *Antiochus*. Thus the King of *Pergamus*, by the power of the *Romans*, recovered what *Antiochus* had taken from him; and *Antiochus* retiring into the remainder of his kingdom, was slain two years after by the *Persians*, as he was robbing the Temple of *Jupiter Belus* in *Elymais*, to raise money for the *Romans*. All which is thus described by *Daniel*. For the King of the North [*Antiochus*] shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former; and shall certainly come, after certain years, with a great army and with much riches. And in those times there shall many stand up against the King of the South, [particularly the *Macedonians*;] also the robbers of thy people [the *Samaritans*, &c.] shall exalt themselves to establish the vision, but they shall fall. So the King of the North shall come, and cast

Chap. xi.
13.—19.

cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities; and the arms of the South shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand. But he that cometh against him shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him: and he shall stand in the glorious land, which shall fail in his hand. He shall also set his face to go with the strength [or army] of all his kingdom, and make an agreement with him [at Raphia;] and he shall give him the daughter of women corrupting her; but she shall not stand his side, neither be for him. After this he shall turn his face unto the Isles, and shall take many: but a Prince for his own behalf [the Romans] shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease; without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him. Then he shall turn his face towards the fort of his own land: but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found.

Seleucus Philopator succeeded his father *Antiochus*, Anno Nabonass: 561, and reigned twelve years, but did nothing memorable, being sluggish, and intent upon raising money for the Romans to whom he was tributary. He was slain by *Heliodorus*, whom he had sent to rob the Temple of Jerusalem. Daniel thus describes his reign. Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom, but within few

Chap. xi. 20.

few days he shall be destroyed, neither in anger nor in battle.

A little before the death of *Philopator*, his son *Demetrius* was sent hostage to *Rome*, in the place of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, the brother of *Philopator*; and *Antiochus* was at *Athens* in his way home from *Rome*, when *Philopator* died: whereupon *Heliodorus* the treasurer of the kingdom, stepped into the throne. But *Antiochus* so managed his affairs, that the *Romans* kept *Demetrius* at *Rome*; and their ally the King of *Pergamus* expelled *Heliodorus*, and placed *Antiochus* in the throne, while *Demetrius* the right heir remained an hostage at *Rome*. *Antiochus* being thus made King by the friendship of the King of *Pergamus* reigned powerfully over *Syria* and the neighbouring nations: but carried himself much below his dignity, stealing privately out of his palace, rambling up and down the city in disguise with one or two of his companions; conversing and drinking with people of the lowest rank, foreigners and strangers; frequenting the meetings of dissolute persons to feast and revel; clothing himself like the *Roman* candidates and officers, acting their parts like a mimick, and in publick festivals jesting and dancing with servants and light people, exposing himself by all manner of ridiculous gestures. This conduct made some
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take him for a madman, and call him *Antiochus* Ἐπιμένης. In the first year of his reign he deposed *Onias* the high-Priest, and sold the high-Priesthood to *Jason* the younger brother of *Onias* : for *Jason* had promised to give him 440 talents of silver for that office, and 150 more for a licence to erect a place of exercise for the training up of youth in the fashions of the heathen; which licence was granted by the King, and put in execution by *Jason*. Then the King sending one *Apollonius* into *Egypt* to the coronation of *Ptolemy Philometor*, the young son of *Philometor* and *Cleopatra*, and knowing *Philometor* not to be well affected to his affairs in *Phœnicia*, provided for his own safety in those parts; and for that end came to *Joppa* and *Jerusalem*, where he was honourably received; from thence he went in like manner with his little army to the cities of *Phœnicia*, to establish himself against *Egypt*, by courting the people, and distributing extraordinary favours amongst them. All which is thus represented by *Daniel*. And in his [Philometor's] estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they [the Syrians who set up *Heliodorus*] shall not give the honour of the kingdom. Yet he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries [made principally to the King of *Pergamus*;] and the arms [which

Chap. xi.
21, &c.

[which in favour of *Heliodorus* oppose him] shall be overflowed with a flood from before him, and be broken; yea also [Onias the high-Priest] the Prince of the covenant. And after the league made with him, [the King of Egypt, by sending *Apollonius* to his coronation] he shall work deceitfully [against the King of Egypt,] for he shall come up and shall become strong [in *Phœnicia*] with a small people. And he shall enter into the quiet and plentiful cities of the Province [of *Phœnicia*;] and [to ingratiate himself with the Jews of *Phœnicia* and Egypt, and with their friends] he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers fathers: he shall scatter among them the prey and the spoil, and the riches [exactd from other places;] and shall forecast his devices against the strong holds [of Egypt] even for a time.

These things were done in the first year of his reign, *An. Nabonass. 573*. And thenceforward he forecast his devices against the strong holds of Egypt, until the sixth year. For three years after, that is in the fourth year of his reign, *Menelaus* bought the high-Priesthood from *Jason*, but not paying the price was sent for by the King; and the King, before he could hear the cause, went into *Cilicia* to appease a sedition there, and left *Andronicus* his deputy at *Antioch*; in

in the mean time the brother of *Menelaus*, to make up the money, conveyed several vessels out of the Temple, selling some of them at *Tyre*, and sending others to *Andronicus*. When *Menelaus* was reprov'd for this by *Onias*, he caused *Onias* to be slain by *Andronicus*: for which fact the King at his return from *Cilicia* caused *Andronicus* to be put to death. Then *Antiochus* prepared his second expedition against *Egypt*, which he performed in the sixth year of his reign, *An. Nabonass. 578*: for upon the death of *Cleopatra*, the governors of her son the young King of *Egypt* claimed *Phœnicia* and *Cœlosyria* from him as her dowry; and to recover those countries rais'd a great army. *Antiochus* considering that his father had not quitted the possession of those countries, denied they were her dowry; and with another great army met and fought the *Egyptians* on the borders of *Egypt*, between *Pelusium* and the mountain *Casius*. He there beat them, and might have destroyed their whole army, but that he rode up and down, commanding his soldiers not to kill them, but to take them alive: by which humanity he gain'd *Pelusium*, and soon after all *Egypt*; entering it with a vast multitude of foot and chariots, elephants and horsemen, and a great navy. Then seizing the cities of *Egypt* as a friend, he march'd to *Memphis*, laid the

2 Maccab.
iii. 5, 8.
& iv. 4.

whole blame of the war upon *Eulæus* the King's governor, entred into outward friendship with the young King, and took upon him to order the affairs of the kingdom. While *Antiochus* was thus employ'd, a report being spread in *Phœnicia* that he was dead, *Jason* to recover the high-Priesthood assaulted *Jerusalem* with above a thousand men, and took the city: hereupon the King thinking *Judea* had revolted, came out of *Egypt* in a furious manner, re-took the city, slew forty thousand of the people, made as many prisoners, and sold them to raise money; went into the Temple, spoiled it of its treasures, ornaments, utensils, and vessels of gold and silver, amounting to 1800 talents; and carried all away to *Antioch*. This was done in the year of *Nabonassar* 578, and is thus described by *Daniel*. *And he shall stir up his power, and his courage against the King of the South with a great army; and the King of the South shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army; but he shall not stand: for they, even Antiochus and his friends, shall forecast devices against him, as is represented above; yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat, shall betray and destroy him, and his army shall be overthrown, and many shall fall down slain. And both these Kings hearts shall be to do mischief;*

Chap. xi.
25, &c.

mischief; and they, being now made friends, shall speak lyes at one table, against the Jews and against the holy covenant; but it shall not prosper: for yet the end, in which the setting up of the abomination of desolation is to prosper, shall be at the time appointed. Then shall he return into his land with great riches, and his heart shall be against the holy covenant; and he shall act, against it by spoiling the Temple, and return into his own land.

The Egyptians of Alexandria seeing Philometor first educated in luxury by the Eunuch Eulaeus, and now in the hands of Antiochus, gave the kingdom to Euergetes, the younger brother of Philometor. Whereupon Antiochus pretending to restore Philometor, made war upon Euergetes; beat him at sea, and besieged him and his sister Cleopatra in Alexandria: while the besieged Princes sent to Rome to implore the assistance of the Senate. Antiochus finding himself unable to take the city that year, returned into Syria, leaving Philometor at Memphis to govern Egypt in his absence. But Philometor made friendship with his brother that winter; and Antiochus, returning the next spring An. Nabonass. 580, to besiege both the brothers in Alexandria, was met in the way by the Roman Ambassadors, Popilius Læna, C. Decimius, and C. Hostilius: he offered them his hand to kiss, but Popi-

lius delivering to him the tables wherein the message of the Senate was written, bad him read those first. When he had read them, he replied he would consider with his friends what was fit to be done; but *Popilius* drawing a circle about him, bad him answer before he went out of it: *Antiochus*, astonished at this blunt and unusual imperiousness, made answer he would do what the *Romans* demanded; and then *Popilius* gave the King his hand to kiss, and he returned out of *Egypt*. The same year, *An. Nabonass. 580*, his captains by his order spoiled and slaughtered the *Jews*, profaned the Temple, set up the worship of the heathen Gods in all *Judea*, and began to persecute and make war upon those who would not worship them: which actions are thus described by *Daniel*. *At the time appointed he shall come again towards the South, but the latter shall not be as the former. For the ships of Chittim shall come, with an embassy from Rome, against him. Therefore he shall be grieved, and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant. So shall he do; he shall even return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant.*

Chap. xi.
29, 30.

In the same year that *Antiochus* by the command of the *Romans* retired out of *Egypt*, and set up the worship of the *Greeks* in *Judea*; the
Romans

Romans conquered the kingdom of *Macedon*, the fundamental kingdom of the Empire of the *Greeks*, and reduced it into a *Roman Province*; and thereby began to put an end to the reign of *Daniel's* third Beast. This is thus exprest by *Daniel*. And after him *Arms*, that is the *Romans*, shall stand up. As מלך signifies after the King, Dan. xi. 8; so מנחם may signify after him. *Arms* are every where in this Prophecy of *Daniel* put for the military power of a kingdom: and they stand up when they conquer and grow powerful. Hitherto *Daniel* described the actions of the Kings of the *North* and *South*; but upon the conquest of *Macedon* by the *Romans*, he left off describing the actions of the *Greeks*, and began to describe those of the *Romans* in *Greece*. They conquered *Macedon*, *Illyricum* and *Epirus*, in the year of *Nabonassar* 580. 35 years after, by the last will and testament of *Attalus* the last King of *Pergamus*, they inherited that rich and flourishing kingdom, that is, all *Asia* westward of mount *Taurus*; 69 years after they conquered the kingdom of *Syria*, and reduced it into a *Province*, and 34 years after they did the like to *Egypt*. By all these steps the *Roman Arms* stood up over the *Greeks*: and after 95 years more, by making war upon the *Jews*, they polluted the sanctuary of strength, and took away

away the daily sacrifice, and then placed the abomination of desolation. For this abomination was placed after the days of *Christ*, *Math.* xxiv. 15. In the 16th year of the Emperor *Adrian*, A. C. 132, they placed this abomination by building a Temple to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, where the Temple of God in *Jerusalem* had stood. Thereupon the *Jews* under the conduct of *Barchochab* rose up in arms against the *Romans*, and in the war had 50 cities demolished, 985 of their best towns destroyed, and 580000 men slain by the sword; and in the end of the war, A. C. 136, were banished *Judea* upon pain of death, and thenceforward the land remained desolate of its old inhabitants.

In the beginning of the *Jewish* war in *Nero's* reign, the Apostles fled out of *Judea* with their flocks; some beyond *Jordan* to *Pella* and other places, some into *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Asia minor*, and elsewhere. *Peter* and *John* came into *Asia*, and *Peter* went thence by *Corinth* to *Rome*; but *John* staying in *Asia*, was banished by the *Romans* into *Patmos*, as the head of a party of the *Jews*, whose nation was in war with the *Romans*. By this dispersion of the *Christian Jews*, the *Christian* religion, which was already propagated westward as far as *Rome*, spread fast into all the *Roman Empire*, and suffered many persecutions under it till the days

days of *Constantine* the great and his sons: all which is thus described by *Daniel*. *And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall he, who places the abomination, cause to dissemble, and worship the heathen Gods; but the people among them who do know their God, shall be strong and act. And they that understand among the people, shall instruct many: yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, and by captivity, and by spoil many days. Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help, viz. in the reign of Constantine the great; and at that time by reason of their prosperity, many shall come over to them from among the heathen, and cleave to them with dissimulation. But of those of understanding there shall still fall to try God's people by them, and to purge them from the dissemblers, and to make them white even to the time of the end: because it is yet for a time appointed.*

Hitherto the *Roman Empire* continued entire; and under this dominion, the little horn of the *He-Goat* continued mighty, but not by his own power. But now, by the building of *Constantinople*, and endowing it with a Senate and other like privileges with *Rome*; and by the division of the *Roman Empire* into the two Empires of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, headed by those two cities; a new scene of things commences, in
2 which

Chap. xi.
32, &c.

Chap. xi.
36, &c.

which a King, the Empire of the Greeks, doth according to his will, and, by setting his own laws above the laws of God, exalts and magnifies himself above every God, and speaks marvellous things against the God of Gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished.—

Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the lawful desire of women in matrimony, nor any God, but shall magnify himself above all. And in his seat he shall honour Mahuzzims, that is, strong guardians, the souls of the dead; even with a God whom his fathers knew not shall he honour them, in their Temples, with gold and silver, and with precious stones and valuable things. All which relates to the overspreading of the Greek Empire with Monks and Nuns, who placed holiness in abstinence from marriage; and to the invocation of saints and veneration of their reliques, and such like superstitions, which these men introduced in the fourth and fifth centuries. And at the time of the end the King of the South, or the Empire of the Saracens, shall push at him; and the King of the North, or Empire of the Turks, shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots and with horsemen, and with many ships; and he shall enter into the countries of the Greeks, and shall overflow and pass over. He shall enter also into the glorious land,

Chap. xi.
40, &c.

and many countries shall be overthrown; but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon: that is, those to whom his Caravans pay tribute. He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape; but he shall have power over the treasures of gold and silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt; and the Lybians and Ethiopians shall be at his steps. All these nations compose the Empire of the Turks, and therefore this Empire is here to be understood by the King of the North. They compose also the body of the He-Goat; and therefore the Goat still reigns in his last horn, but not by his own power.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the King who did according to his will, and magnified himself above every God, and honoured Mahuzzims, and regarded not the desire of women.

IN the first ages of the Christian religion the Christians of every city were governed by a Council of Presbyters, and the President of the Council was the Bishop of the city. The Bishop and Presbyters of one city meddled not with the affairs of another city, except by admonitory letters or messages. Nor did the Bishops of several cities meet together in Council before the time of the Emperor *Commodus*: for they could not meet together without the leave of the *Roman* governors of the Provinces. But in the days of that Emperor they began to meet in Provincial Councils, by the leave of the governors; first in *Asia*, in opposition to the *Cataphrygian* Heresy, and soon after in other places and upon other occasions. The Bishop of the chief city, or Metropolis of the *Roman* Province, was usually made President of the Council;

Council; and hence came the authority of Metropolitan Bishops above that of other Bishops within the same Province. Hence also it was that the Bishop of *Rome* in *Cyprian's* days called himself the Bishop of Bishops. As soon as the Empire became Christian, the *Roman* Emperors began to call general Councils out of all the Provinces of the Empire; and by prescribing to them what points they should consider, and influencing them by their interest and power, they set up what party they pleased. Hereby the *Greek* Empire, upon the division of the *Roman* Empire into the *Greek* and *Latin* Empires, became *the King who*, in matters of religion, *did according to his will; and*, in legislature, *exalted and magnified himself above every God*: and at length, by the seventh general Council, established the worship of the images and souls of dead men, here called *Mahuzzims*.

The same King placed holiness in abstinence from marriage. *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiastical history tells us, that *Musanus* wrote a tract against those who fell away to the heresy of the *Encratites*, which was then newly risen, and had introduced pernicious errors; and that *Tatian*, the disciple of *Justin*, was the author thereof; and that *Irenæus* in his first book against heresies teaches this, writing of *Tatian* and his heresy in these words: *A Saturnino & Marcione profecti*

Lib. 4. c. 28,

29.

fecti qui vocantur Continentes, docuerunt non contrahendum esse matrimonium; reprobantes scilicet primitivum illud opificium Dei, & tacite accusantes Deum qui masculum & feminam condidit ad procreationem generis humani. Induxerunt etiam abstinentioniam ab esu eorum quæ animalia appellant, ingratos se exhibentes erga eum qui universa creavit Deum. Negant etiam primi hominis salutem. Atque hoc nuper apud illos excogitatum est, Tatiano quodam omnium primo hujus impietatis auctore: qui Justinus auditor, quamdiu cum illo versatus est, nihil ejusmodi protulit. Post martyrium autem illius, ab Ecclesia se abrumpens, doctoris arrogantia elatus ac tumidus, tanquam præstantior cæteris, novam quandam formam doctrinæ conflavit: Æonas invisibiles commentus perinde ac Valentinus: asserens quoque cum Saturnino & Marcione, matrimonium nihil aliud esse quam corruptionem ac stuprum: nova præterea argumenta ad subvertendam Adami salutem excogitans. Hæc Irenæus de Hæresi quæ tunc viguit Encratitarum. Thus far Eusebius. But altho the followers of Tatian were at first condemned as hereticks by the name of Encratites, or Continentes; their principles could not be yet quite exploded: for Montanus refined upon them, and made only second marriages unlawful; he also introduced frequent fastings, and annual fasting days, the keeping of
Lent,

Lent, and feeding upon dried meats. The *Apostolici*, about the middle of the third century, condemned marriage, and were a branch of the disciples of *Tatian*. The *Hierocitæ* in *Egypt*, in the latter end of the third century, also condemned marriage. *Paul* the *Eremit*e fled into the wilderness from the persecution of *Decius*, and lived there a solitary life till the reign of *Constantine* the great, but made no disciples. *Antony* did the like in the persecution of *Dioclesian*, or a little before, and made disciples; and many others soon followed his example.

Hitherto the principles of the *Encratites* had been rejected by the Churches; but now being refined by the Monks, and imposed not upon all men, but only upon those who would voluntarily undertake a monastic life, they began to be admired, and to overflow first the *Greek* Church, and then the *Latin* also, like a torrent.

Eusebius tells us, that *Constantine* the great had those men in the highest veneration, who dedicated themselves wholly to the divine philosophy; and that he almost venerated the most holy company of Virgins perpetually devoted to God; being certain that the God to whom he had consecrated himself did dwell in their minds. In his time and that of his sons, this profession of a single life was propagated in *Egypt* by *Antony*, and in *Syria* by *Hilarion*; and spread so fast, that

In vita Constantini, l. 4. c. 28.

that soon after the time of *Julian* the Apostate a third part of the *Egyptians* were got into the desarts of *Egypt*. They lived first singly in cells, then associated into *cænobia* or convents; and at length came into towns, and filled the Churches with Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons. *Athanasius* in his younger days poured water upon the hands of his master *Antony*; and finding the Monks faithful to him, made many of them Bishops and Presbyters in *Egypt*: and these Bishops erected new Monasteries, out of which they chose Presbyters of their own cities, and sent Bishops to others. The like was done in *Syria*, the superstition being quickly propagated thither out of *Egypt* by *Hilarion* a disciple of *Antony*. *Spiridion* and *Epiphanius* of *Cyprus*, *James* of *Nisibis*, *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, *Eustathius* of *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, *Eusebius* of *Emisa*, *Titus* of *Bostra*, *Basilus* of *Ancyra*, *Acacius* of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, *Elpidius* of *Laodicea*, *Melitus* and *Flavian* of *Antioch*, *Theodorus* of *Tyre*, *Protogenes* of *Carrhæ*, *Acacius* of *Berrhæa*, *Theodotus* of *Hierapolis*, *Eusebius* of *Chalcedon*, *Amphilochius* of *Iconium*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Gregory Nyssen*, and *John Chrysostom* of *Constantinople*, were both Bishops and Monks in the fourth century. *Eustathius*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Gregory Nyssen*, *Basil*, &c. had Monasteries of Clergymen in their

their cities, out of which Bishops were sent to other cities; who in like manner erected Monasteries there, till the Churches were supplied with Bishops out of these Monasteries. Hence *Jerome*, in a Letter written about the year 385, saith of the Clergy: *Quasi & ipsi aliud sint quam Monachi, & non quicquid in Monachos dicitur redundet in Clericos qui patres sunt Monachorum. Detrimentum pecoris pastoris ignominia est.* And in his book against *Vigilantius: Quid facient Orientis Ecclesiae? Quae aut Virgines Clericos accipiunt, aut Continentes, aut si uxores habuerint mariti esse desistunt.* Not long after even the Emperors commanded the Churches to chuse Clergymen out of the Monasteries by this Law.

Epist. 10.

Impp. Arcad. & Honor. AA. Caesario PF. P.

Si quos forte Episcopi deesse sibi Clericos arbitrantur, ex monachorum numero rectius ordinabunt: non obnoxios publicis privatisque rationibus cum invidia teneant, sed habeant jam probatos. *Dat. vii. Kal. Aug. Honorio A. iv. & Eutychiano Coss. A. C. 398.* The Greek Empire being now in the hands of these *Encratites*, and having them in great admiration, *Daniel* makes it a characteristick of the King who doth accord-

L. 32. de
Episcopis.

according to his will, that *he should not regard the desire of women.*

Thus the Sect of the *Encratites*, set on foot by the *Gnosticks*, and propagated by *Tatian* and *Montanus* near the end of the second century; which was condemned by the Churches of that and the third century, and refined upon by their followers; overspread the *Eastern* Churches in the fourth century, and before the end of it began to overspread the *Western*. Henceforward the Christian Churches having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof, came into the hands of the *Encratites*: and the Heathens, who in the fourth century came over in great numbers to the Christians, embraced more readily this sort of Christianity, as having a greater affinity with their old superstitions, than that of the sincere Christians; who by the lamps of the seven Churches of *Asia*, and not by the lamps of the Monasteries, had illuminated the Church Catholic during the three first centuries.

The *Cataphrygians* brought in also several other superstitions: such as were the doctrine of Ghosts, and of their punishment in Purgatory, with prayers and oblations for mitigating that punishment, as *Tertullian* teaches in his books *De Anima* and *De Monogamia*. They used also the sign of the cross as a charm. So *Tertullian* in his book *de Corona militis: Ad omnem progres-*
sum

sum atque promotum, ad omnem aditum & exitum, ad vestitum, ad calceatum, ad lavacra, ad mensas, ad lumina, ad cubilia, ad sedilia, quacunque nos conversatio exercet, frontem crucis signaculo terimus. All these superstitions the Apostle refers to, where he saith: *Now the Spirit speaketh exprefly, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils, the Dæmons and Ghosts worshipped by the heathens, speaking lyes in hypocrisy, about their apparitions, the miracles done by them, their reliques, and the sign of the cross, having consciences seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, &c.* 1 Tim. iv. 1, 2, 3. From the Cataphrygians these principles and practices were propagated down to posterity. For the mystery of iniquity did already work in the Apostles days in the Gnosticks, continued to work very strongly in their offspring the Tatianists and Cataphrygians, and was to work till that man of sin should be revealed; whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power and signs, and lying wonders, and all deceivableness of unrighteousness; coloured over with a form of Christian godliness, but without the power thereof, 2 Thess. ii. 7—10.

For tho some stop was put to the Cataphrygian Christianity, by Provincial Councils, till
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the fourth century; yet the *Roman* Emperors then turning *Christians*, and great multitudes of heathens coming over in outward profession, these found the *Cataphrygian* Christianity more suitable to their old principles, of placing religion in outward forms and ceremonies, holy-days, and doctrines of Ghosts, than the religion of the sincere *Christians*: wherefore they readily sided with the *Cataphrygian Christians*, and established that Christianity before the end of the fourth century. By this means those of understanding, after they had been persecuted by the heathen Emperors in the three first centuries, and *were holpen with a little help*, by the conversion of *Constantine* the great and his sons to the *Christian* religion, fell under new persecutions, *to purge them from the dissemblers, and to make them white, even to the time of the end.*

C H A P. XIV.

Of the Mahuzzims, honoured by the King who doth according to his will.

IN scripture we are told of some *trusting in God* and others *trusting in idols*, and that *God is our refuge, our strength, our defense*. In this sense God is *the rock of his people*, and false Gods are called *the rock of those that trust in them*, Deut. xxxii. 4, 15, 18, 30, 31, 37. In the same sense the Gods of *the King who shall do according to his will* are called *Mahuzzims*, munitions, fortresses, protectors, guardians, or defenders. *In his estate, saith Daniel, shall he honour Mahuzzims; even with a God whom his fathers knew not, shall he honour them with gold and silver, and with precious stones, and things of value. Thus shall he do in the most strong holds or temples; — and he shall cause them to rule over many, and divide the land among them for a possession.* Now this came to pass by degrees in the following manner.

Gregory Nyssen tells us, that after the persecution of the Emperor *Decius*, Gregory Bishop

Orat. de vita
Greg. Thaumaturg. T.

of *Neocæsarea* in *Pontus*, instituted among all people, as an addition or corollary of devotion towards God, that festival days and assemblies should be celebrated to them who had contended for the faith, that is, to the *Martyrs*. And he adds this reason for the institution: When he observed, saith *Nyssen*, that the simple and unskilful multitude, by reason of corporeal delights, remained in the error of idols; that the principal thing might be corrected among them, namely, that instead of their vain worship they might turn their eyes upon God; he permitted that at the memories of the holy *Martyrs* they might make merry and delight themselves, and be dissolved into joy. The heathens were delighted with the festivals of their Gods, and unwilling to part with those delights; and therefore *Gregory*, to facilitate their conversion, instituted annual festivals to the *Saints* and *Martyrs*. Hence it came to pass, that for exploding the festivals of the heathens, the principal festivals of the *Christians* succeeded in their room: as the keeping of *Christmas* with ivy and feasting, and playing and sports, in the room of the *Bacchanalia* and *Saturnalia*; the celebrating of *May-day* with flowers, in the room of the *Floralia*; and the keeping of festivals to the *Virgin Mary*, *John* the Baptist, and divers of the *Apostles*, in the room of the solemnities

nities at the entrance of the Sun into the signs of the *Zodiac* in the old *Julian* Calendar. In the same persecution of *Decius*, *Cyprian* ordered the passions of the Martyrs in *Africa* to be registred, in order to celebrate their memories annually with oblations and sacrifices: and *Felix* Bishop of *Rome*, a little after, as *Platina* relates, *Martyrum gloriæ consulens, constituit ut quotannis sacrificia eorum nomine celebrarentur*; “consulting the glory of the Martyrs, ordained that sacrifices should be celebrated annually in their name.” By the pleasures of these festivals the *Christians* increased much in number, and decreased as much in virtue, until they were *purged and made white* by the persecution of *Dioclesian*. This was the first step made in the *Christian* religion towards the veneration of the Martyrs: and tho it did not yet amount to an unlawful worship; yet it disposed the *Christians* towards such a further veneration of the dead, as in a short time ended in the invocation of Saints.

The next step was the affecting to pray at the sepulchres of the Martyrs: which practice began in *Dioclesian's* persecution. The Council of *Eliberis* in *Spain*, celebrated in the third or fourth year of *Dioclesian's* persecution, A. C. 305, hath these Canons. Can. 34. *Cereos per diem placuit in Cœmeterio non incendi: inquietandi*

tandi enim spiritus sanctorum non sunt. Qui hæc non observârint, arceantur ab Ecclesiæ communione. Can. 35. Placuit prohiberi ne fæminæ in Cœmeterio pervigilent, eò quod sæpe sub obtentu orationis latentèr scelera committant. Presently after that persecution, suppose about the year 314, the Council of *Laodicea* in *Phrygia*, which then met for restoring the lapsed discipline of the Church, has the following Canons. Can. 9. *Those of the Church are not allowed to go into the Cœmeteries or Martyries, as they are called, of hereticks, for the sake of prayer or recovery of health: but such as go, if they be of the faithful, shall be excommunicated for a time.* Can. 34. *A Christian must not leave the Martyrs of Christ, and go to false Martyrs, that is, to the Martyrs of the hereticks; for these are alien from God: and therefore let those be anathema who go to them.* Can. 51. *The birth-days of the Martyrs shall not be celebrated in Lent, but their commemoration shall be made on the Sabbath-days and Lords days.* The Council of *Paphlagonia*, celebrated in the year 324, made this Canon: *If any man being arrogant, abominates the congregations of the Martyrs, or the Liturgies performed therein, or the memories of the Martyrs, let him be anathema.* By all which it is manifest that the *Christians* in the time of *Dio-*
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clesian's persecution used to pray in the *Cæmeteries* or burying-places of the dead ; for avoiding the danger of the persecution, and for want of Churches, which were all thrown down : and after the persecution was over, continued that practice in honour of the Martyrs, till new Churches could be built : and by use affected it as advantageous to devotion, and for recovering the health of those that were sick. It also appears that in these burying-places they commemorated the Martyrs yearly upon days dedicated to them, and accounted all these practices pious and religious, and anathematized those men as arrogant who opposed them, or prayed in the *Martyries* of the hereticks. They also lighted torches to the Martyrs in the day-time, as the heathens did to their Gods ; which custom, before the end of the fourth century, prevailed much in the *West*. They sprinkled the worshipers of the Martyrs with holy-water, as the heathens did the worshipers of their Gods ; and went in pilgrimage to see *Jerusalem* and other holy places, as if those places conferred sanctity on the visiters. From the custom of praying in the *Cæmeteries* and *Martyries*, came the custom of translating the bodies of the Saints and Martyrs into such Churches as were new built : the Emperor *Constantius* began this practice about the year 359, causing the bodies of *Andrew* the
Apostle

Apostle, *Luke* and *Timothy*, to be translated into a new Church at *Constantinople*: and before this act of *Constantius*, the *Egyptians* kept the bodies of their Martyrs and Saints unburied upon beds in their private houses, and told stories of their souls appearing after death and ascending up to heaven, as *Athanasius* relates in the life of *Antony*. All which gave occasion to the Emperor *Julian*, as *Cyril* relates, to accuse the *Christians* in this manner: *Your adding to that antient dead man, Jesus, many new dead men, who can sufficiently abominate? You have filled all places with sepulchres and monuments, altho you are no where bidden to prostrate yourselves to sepulchres, and to respect them officiously.* And a little after: *Since Jesus said that sepulchres are full of filthiness, how do you invoke God upon them?* and in another place he saith, that if *Christians* had adhered to the precepts of the *Hebrews*, they would have worshiped one God instead of many, and not a man, or rather not many unhappy men: And that they adored the wood of the cross, making its images on their foreheads, and before their houses.

After the sepulchres of Saints and Martyrs were thus converted into places of worship like the heathen temples, and the Churches into sepulchres, and a certain sort of sanctity attributed to the dead bodies of the Saints and Martyrs

Martyrs buried in them, and annual festivals were kept to them, with sacrifices offered to God in their name; the next step towards the invocation of Saints, was the attributing to their dead bodies, bones and other reliques, a power of working miracles, by means of the separate souls, who were supposed to know what we do or say, and to be able to do us good or hurt, and to work those miracles. This was the very notion the heathens had of the separate souls of their antient Kings and Heroes, whom they worshiped under the names of *Saturn, Rhea, Jupiter, Juno, Mars, Venus, Bacchus, Ceres, Osiris, Isis, Apollo, Diana*, and the rest of their Gods. For these Gods being male and female, husband and wife, son and daughter, brother and sister, are thereby discovered to be antient men and women. Now as the first step towards the invocation of Saints was set on foot by the persecution of *Decius*, and the second by the persecution of *Dioclesian*; so this third seems to have been owing to the proceedings of *Constantius* and *Julian* the Apostate. When *Julian* began to restore the worship of the heathen Gods, and to vilify the Saints and Martyrs; the *Christians* of *Syria* and *Egypt* seem to have made a great noise about the miracles done by the reliques of the *Christian* Saints and Martyrs, in opposition to the powers

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attributed by *Julian* and the heathens to their Idols. For *Sozomen* and *Ruffinus* tell us, that when he opened the heathen Temples, and consulted the Oracle of *Apollo Daphnæus* in the suburbs of *Antioch*, and pressed by many sacrifices for an answer; the Oracle at length told him that the bones of the Martyr *Babylas* which were buried there hinder'd him from speaking. By which answer we may understand, that some *Christian* was got into the place where the heathen Priests used to speak thro' a pipe in delivering their Oracles: and before this, *Hilary* in his book against *Constantius*, written in the last year of that Emperor, makes the following mention of what was then doing in the *East* where he was. *Sine martyrio persequeris. Plus crudelitati vestræ Nero, Deci, Maximiane, debemus. Diabolum enim per vos vicimus. Sanctus ubique beatorum martyrum sanguis exceptus est, dum in his Dæmones mugiunt, dum ægritudines depelluntur, dum miraculorum opera cernuntur, elevari sine laqueis corpora, & dispensis pede sæminis vestes non defluere in faciem, uri sine ignibus spiritus, confiteri sine interrogantis incremento fidei.* And *Gregory Nazianzen*, in his first Oration against the Emperor *Julian* then reigning, writes thus: *Martyres non extimuiſti quibus præclari honores & festa constituta, à quibus Dæmones propelluntur & morbi curantur; quorum*

rum sunt apparitiones & prædictiones; quorum vel sola corpora idem possunt quod animæ sanctæ, sive manibus contrectentur, sive honorentur: quorum vel solæ sanguinis guttæ atque exigua passionis signa idem possunt quod corpora. Hæc non colis sed contemnis & aspernaris. These things made the heathens in the reign of the same Emperor demolish the sepulchre of *John* the Baptist in *Phœnicia*, and burn his bones; when several *Christians* mixing themselves with the heathens, gathered up some of his remains, which were sent to *Athanasius*, who hid them in the wall of a Church; foreseeing by a prophetic spirit, as *Ruffinus* tells us, that they might be profitable to future generations.

The cry of these miracles being once set on foot, continued for many years, and encreased and grew more general. *Chrysostom*, in his second Oration on *St. Babylas*, twenty years after the silencing of the Oracle of *Apollo Daphnæus* as above, viz. A. C. 382, saith of the miracles done by the Saints and their reliques:

Nulla est nostri hujus Orbis seu regio, seu gens, seu urbs, ubi nova & inopinata miracula hæc non decantentur; quæ quidem si figmenta fuissent, prorsus in tantam hominum admirationem non venissent. And a little after: *Abunde orationi nostræ fidem faciunt quæ quotidiana à martyribus miracula eduntur, magna affatim ad illa homi-*

Vide
Hom. 47.
in. S. Julian,

Epist. 27.
ad Eustochi-
um.

Edit. Fron-
tonis Ducæi,
Tom. 1.

num multitudine affluente. And in his 66th Homily, describing how the Devils were tormented and cast out by the bones of the Martyrs, he adds: *Ob eam causam multi plerumque Reges peregrè profecti sunt, ut hoc spectaculo fruerentur. Siquidem sanctorum martyrum templa futuri judicii vestigia & signa exhibent, dum nimirum Dæmones flagris cæduntur, hominesque torquentur & liberantur. Vide quæ sanctorum vitâ functorum vis sit?* And Jerom in his Epitaph on Paula, thus mentions the same things. *Paula vidit Samariam: ibi siti sunt Elisæus & Abdias prophætæ, & Joannes Baptista, ubi multis intremuit consternata miraculis. Nam cernebat variis dæmones rugire cruciatibus, & ante sepulchra sanctorum ululare, homines more luporum vocibus latrare canum, fremere leonum, sibilare serpentum, mugire taurorum, alios rotare caput & post tergum terram vertice tangere, suspensisque pede fæminis vestes non defluere in faciem.* This was about the year 384: and Chrysostom in his Oration on the Egyptian Martyrs, seems to make Egypt the ringleader in these matters, saying: *Benedictus Deus quandoquidem ex Ægypto prodeunt martyres, ex Ægypto illa cum Deo pugnante ac insanissima, & unde impiora, unde linguæ blasphemæ; ex Ægypto martyres habentur; non in Ægypto tantum, nec in finitima vicinaque regione, sed UBIQUE TERRARUM.*

RARUM. Et quemadmodum in annonæ summa ubertate, cum viderunt urbium incolæ maiorem quam usus habitatorum postulat esse proventum, ad peregrinas etiam urbes transmittunt: cum & suam comitatem & liberalitatem ostendant, tum ut præter horum abundantiam cum facilitate res quibus indigent rursus ab illis sibi comparent: sic & Ægyptii, quod attinet ad religionis athletas, fecerunt. Cum apud se multam eorum Dei benignitate copiam cernerent, nequaquam ingens Dei munus sua civitate concluderunt, sed in OMNES TERRÆ PARTES bonorum thesauros effuderunt: cum ut suum in fratres amorem ostenderent, tum ut communem omnium dominum honore afficerent, ac civitati suæ gloriam apud omnes compararent, totiusque terrarum ORBIS esse METROPOLIN declararent.—Sanctorum enim illorum corpora quovis adamantino & inexpugnabili muro tutius nobis urbem communiunt, & tanquam excelsi quidam scopuli undique prominentes, non horum qui sub sensus cadunt & oculis cernuntur hostium impetus propulsant tantum, sed etiam invisibilium dæmonum insidias, omnesque diaboli fraudes subvertunt ac dissipant.—Neque vero tantum adversus hominum insidias aut adversus fallacias dæmonum utilis nobis est hæc possessio, sed si nobis communis dominus ob peccatorum multitudinem irascatur, his obiectis corporibus continuo poterimus eum propitium reddere

reddere civitati. This Oration was written at *Antioch*, while *Alexandria* was yet the Metropolis of the *East*, that is, before the year 381, in which *Constantinople* became the Metropolis: and it was a work of some years for the *Egyptians* to have distributed the miracle-working reliques of their Martyrs over all the world, as they had done before that year. *Egypt* abounded most with the reliques of Saints and Martyrs, the *Egyptians* keeping them embalmed upon beds even in their private houses; and *Alexandria* was eminent above all other cities for dispersing them, so as on that account to acquire glory with all men, and manifest herself to be the *Metropolis* of the world. *Antioch* followed the example of *Egypt*, in dispersing the reliques of the forty Martyrs: and the examples of *Egypt* and *Syria* were soon followed by the rest of the world.

The reliques of the forty Martyrs at *Antioch* were distributed among the Churches before the year 373; for *Athanasius* who died in that year, wrote an Oration upon them. This Oration is not yet published, but *Gerard Vossius* saw it in MS. in the Library of Cardinal *Ascanius* in *Italy*, as he says in his commentary upon the Oration of *Ephræm Syrus* on the same forty Martyrs. Now since the Monks of *Alexandria* sent the reliques of the Martyrs of *Egypt* into all parts of the earth,

earth, and thereby acquired glory to their city, and declared her in these matters the Metropolis of the whole world, as we have observed out of *Chrysostom*; it may be concluded, that before *Alexandria* received the forty Martyrs from *Antioch*, she began to send out the reliques of her own Martyrs into all parts, setting the first example to other cities. This practice therefore began in *Egypt* some years before the death of *Athanasius*. It began when the miracle-working bones of *John* the Baptist were carried into *Egypt*, and hid in the wall of a Church, *that they might be profitable to future generations*. It was restrained in the reign of *Julian* the Apostate: and then it spread from *Egypt* into all the Empire, *Alexandria* being the Metropolis of the whole world, according to *Chrysostom*, for propagating this sort of devotion, and *Antioch* and other cities soon following her example.

In propagating these superstitions, the ring-leaders were the Monks, and *Antony* was at the head of them: for in the end of the life of *Antony*, *Athanasius* relates that these were his dying words to his disciples who then attended him. *Do you take care, said Antony, to adhere to Christ in the first place, and then to the Saints, that after death they may receive you as friends and acquaintance into the everlasting Tabernacles. Think upon these things, perceive these*

these things; and if you have any regard to me, remember me as a father. This being delivered in charge to the Monks by *Antony* at his death, A. C. 356, could not but inflame their whole body with devotion towards the Saints, as the ready way to be received by them into the eternal Tabernacles after death. Hence came that noise about the miracles done by the reliques of the Saints in the time of *Constantius*: hence came the dispersion of the miracle-working reliques into all the Empire; *Alexandria* setting the example, and being renowned for it above all other cities. Hence it came to pass in the days of *Julian*, A. C. 362, that *Athanasius* by a prophetic spirit, as *Ruffinus* tells us, hid the bones of *John* the Baptist from the Heathens, not in the ground to be forgotten, but in the hollow wall of a Church before proper witnesses, that they might *be profitable to future generations*. Hence also came the invocation of the Saints for doing such miracles, and for assisting men in their devotions, and mediating with God. For *Athanasius*, even from his youth, looked upon the dead Saints and Martyrs as mediators of our prayers: in his Epistle to *Marcellinus*, written in the days of *Constantine* the great, he saith that the words of the *Psalms* are not to be transposed or any wise changed, but to be recited and sung without any artifice, as they are written,

ten, that the holy men who delivered them, knowing them to be their own words, may pray with us; or rather, that the Holy Ghost who spake in the holy men, seeing his own words with which he inspired them, may join with them in assisting us.

Whilst Egypt abounded with Monks above any other country, the veneration of the Saints began sooner, and spread faster there than in other places. *Palladius* going into Egypt in the year 388 to visit the Monasteries, and the sepulchres of *Apollonius* and other Martyrs of *Thebais* who had suffered under *Maximinus*, saith of them: *Iis omnibus Christiani fecerunt ædem unam, ubi nunc multæ virtutes peraguntur. Tanta autem fuit viri gratia, ut de iis quæ esset precatus statim exaudiretur, eum sic honorante servatore: quem etiam nos in martyrio precati vidimus, cum iis qui cum ipso fuerunt martyrio affecti; & Deum adorantes, eorum corpora salutavimus.* *Eunapius* also, a heathen, yet a competent witness of what was done in his own times, relating how the soldiers delivered the temples of Egypt into the hands of the Monks, which was done in the year 389, rails thus in an impious manner at the Martyrs, as succeeding in the room of the old Gods of Egypt. *Illi ipsi, milites, Monachos Canobi quoque collocârunt, ut pro Diis qui*
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animo cernuntur, servos & quidem flagitiosos divinis honoribus percolerent, hominum mentibus ad cultum ceremoniasque obligatis. Ii namque condita & salita eorum capita, qui ob scelerum multitudinem à judicibus extremo judicio fuerant affecti, pro Divis ostentabant; iis genua submittebant, eos in Deorum numerum receptabant, ad illorum sepulchra pulvere sordibusque conspurcati. Martyres igitur vocabantur, & ministri quidem & legati arbitrique precum apud Deos; cum fuerint servilia infida & flagris pessimè subacta, quæ cicatrices scelerum ac nequitiae vestigia corporibus circumferunt; ejusmodi tamen Deos fert tellus. By these instances we may understand the invocation of Saints was now of some standing in *Egypt*, and that it was already generally received and practised there by the common people.

Thus *Basil* a Monk, who was made Bishop of *Cæsarea* in the year 369, and died in the year 378, in his Oration on the Martyr *Mamas*, saith: *Be ye mindful of the Martyr; as many of you as have enjoyed him in your dreams, as many as in this place have been assisted by him in prayer, as many of you as upon invoking him by name have had him present in your works, as many as he has reduced into the way from wandering, as many as he has restored to health, as many as have had their dead children re-*
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stored by him to life, as many as have had their lives prolonged by him: and a little after, he thus expresses the universality of this superstition in the regions of Cappadocia and Bithynia: At the memory of the Martyr, saith he, the whole region is moved; at his festival the whole city is transported with joy. Nor do the kindred of the rich turn aside to the sepulchres of their ancestors, but all go to the place of devotion. Again, in the end of the Homily he prays, that God would preserve the Church, thus fortified with the great towers of the Martyrs: and in his Oration on the forty Martyrs; These are they, saith he, who obtaining our country, like certain towers afford us safety against our enemies. Neither are they shut up in one place only, but being distributed are sent into many regions, and adorn many countries.—You have often endeavoured, you have often laboured to find one who might pray for you: here are forty, emitting one voice of prayer.—He that is in affliction flies to these, he that rejoices has recourse to these: the first, that he may be freed from evil, the last that he may continue in happiness. Here a woman praying for her children is heard; she obtains a safe return for her husband from abroad, and health for him in his sickness.—O ye common keepers of mankind, the best companions of our cares, suffragans and

coadjutors of our prayers, most powerful ambassadors to God, &c. By all which it is manifest, that before the year 378, the Oration and Sermons upon the Saints went much beyond the bounds of mere oratorical flourishes, and that the common people in the *East* were already generally corrupted by the Monks with Saint-worship.

Gregory Nazianzen a Monk, in his sixth Oration written A. C. 373, when he was newly made Bishop of *Sasima*, saith: *Let us purify ourselves to the Martyrs, or rather to the God of the Martyrs:* and a little after he calls the Martyrs *mediators of obtaining an ascension or divinity.* The same year, in the end of his Oration upon *Athanasius* then newly dead, he thus invokes him: *Do thou look down upon us propitiously, and govern this people, as perfect adorers of the perfect Trinity, which in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is contemplated and worshiped: if there shall be peace, preserve me, and feed my flock with me; but if war, bring me home, place me by thyself, and by those that are like thee; however great my request.* And in the end of the funeral Oration upon *Basil*, written A. C. 378, he thus addresses him: *But thou, O divine and sacred Head, look down upon us from heaven; and by thy prayers either take away that thorn of the flesh which is given*
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us by God for exercise, or obtain that we may bear it with courage, and direct all our life to that which is most fitting for us. When we depart this life, receive us there in your Tabernacles, that living together and beholding the holy and blessed Trinity more purely and perfectly, whereof we have now but an imperfect view, we may there come to the end of our desires, and receive this reward of the wars which we have waged or suffered: and in his Oration upon Cyprian, not the Bishop of Carthage, but a Greek, he invokes him after the same manner; and tells us also how a pious Virgin named *Justina*, was protected by invoking the Virgin *Mary*, and how miracles were done by the ashes of *Cyprian*.

Gregory Nyssen, another eminent Monk and Bishop, in the life of *Ephræm Syrus*, tells how a certain man returning from a far country, was in great danger, by reason all the ways were intercepted by the armies of barbarous nations; but upon invoking *Ephræm* by name, and saying, *Holy Ephræm assist me*, he escaped the danger, neglected the fear of death, and beyond his hope got safe home. In the end of this Oration *Gregory* calls upon *Ephræm* after the following manner: *But thou, O Ephræm, assisting now at the divine altar, and sacrificing to the Prince of life, and to the most holy Trinity,*

ty, together with the Angels; remember us all, and obtain for us pardon of our sins, that we may enjoy the eternal happiness of the kingdom of heaven. The same Gregory, in his Oration on the Martyr *Theodorus* written A. C. 381, thus describes the power of that Martyr, and the practice of the people. *This Martyr, saith he, the last year quieted the barbarous tempest, and put a stop to the horrid war of the fierce and cruel Scythians.*—If any one is permitted to carry away the dust with which the tomb is covered, wherein the body of the Martyr rests; the dust is accepted as a gift, and gathered to be laid up as a thing of great price. For to touch the reliques themselves, if any such prosperous fortune shall at any time happen; how great a favour that is, and not to be obtained without the most earnest prayers, they know well who have obtained it. For as a living and florid body, they who behold it embrace it, applying to it the eyes, mouth, ears, and all the organs of sense; and then with affection pouring tears upon the Martyr, as if he was whole and appeared to them: they offer prayers with supplication, that he would intercede for them as an advocate, praying to him as an Officer attending upon God, and invoking him as receiving gifts whenever he will. At length Gregory concludes the Oration with this prayer: *O Theodorus,*

dorus, we want many blessings; intercede and beseech for thy country before the common King and Lord: for the country of the Martyr is the place of his passion, and they are his citizens, brethren and kindred, who have him, defend, adorn and honour him. We fear afflictions, we expect dangers: the wicked Scythians are not far off, ready to make war against us. As a soldier fight for us, as a Martyr use liberty of speech for thy fellow-servants. Pray for peace, that these publick meetings may not cease, that the furious and wicked barbarian may not rage against the temples and altars, that the profane and impious may not trample upon the holy things. We acknowledge it a benefit received from thee, that we are preserved safe and entire, we pray for freedom from danger in time to come: and if there shall be need of greater intercession and deprecation, call together the choir of thy brethren the Martyrs, and in conjunction with them all intercede for us. Let the prayers of many just ones atone for the sins of the multitudes and the people; exhort Peter, excite Paul, and also John the divine and beloved disciple, that they may be solicitous for the Churches which they have erected, for which they have been in chains, for which they have undergone dangers and deaths; that the worship of idols may not lift up
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its head against us, that heresies may not spring up like thorns in the vineyard, that tares grown up may not choak the wheat, that no rock void of the fatness of true dew may be against us, and render the fruitful power of the word void of a root; but by the power of the prayers of thyself and thy companions, O admirable man and eminent among the Martyrs, the commonwealth of Christians may become a field of corn. The same Gregory Nyssen, in his sermon upon the death of Meletius Bishop of Antioch, preached at Constantinople the same year, A. C. 381, before the Bishops of all the East assembled in the second general Council, spake thus of Meletius. The Bridegroom, saith he, is not taken from us: he stands in the midst of us, tho we do not see him: he is a Priest in the most inward places, and face to face intercedes before God for us and the sins of the people. This was no oratorical flourish, but Gregory's real opinion, as may be understood by what we have cited out of him concerning Ephraem and Theodorus: and as Gregory preached this before the Council of Constanti-

nople, you may thence know, saith Baronius, that he professed what the whole Council, and therewith the whole Church of those parts believed, namely, that the Saints in heaven offer prayers for us before God.

Ad. an. 381,
Sect. 41.

Ephraem

Ephræm Syrus, another eminent Monk, who was contemporary with *Basil*, and died the same year; in the end of his Encomium or Oration upon *Basil* then newly dead, invokes him after this manner: *Intercede for me, a very miserable man; and recal me by thy intercessions, O father; thou who art strong, pray for me who am weak; thou who art diligent, for me who am negligent; thou who art chearful, for me who am heavy; thou who art wise, for me who am foolish. Thou who hast treasured up a treasure of all virtues, be a guide to me who am empty of every good work.* In the beginning of his Encomium upon the forty Martyrs, written at the same time, he thus invokes them: *Help me therefore, O ye Saints, with your intercession; and O ye beloved, with your holy prayers; that Christ by his grace may direct my tongue to speak, &c.* and afterwards mentioning the mother of one of these forty Martyrs, he concludes the Oration with this prayer: *I entreat thee, O holy, faithful, and blessed woman, pray for me to the Saints, saying; Intercede ye that triumph in Christ, for the most little and miserable Ephræm, that he may find mercy, and by the grace of Christ may be saved.* Again, in his second Sermon or Oration on the praises of the holy Martyrs of Christ, he thus addresses them: *We entreat you most holy Martyrs, to intercede with the Lord*
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for us miserable sinners, beset with the filthiness of negligence, that he would infuse his divine grace into us: and afterwards, near the end of the same discourse; Now ye most holy men and glorious Martyrs of God, help me a miserable sinner with your prayers, that in that dreadful hour I may obtain mercy, when the secrets of all hearts shall be made manifest. I am to day become to you, most holy Martyrs of Christ, as it were an unprofitable and unskilful cup-bearer: for I have delivered to the sons and brothers of your faith, a cup of the excellent wine of your warfare, with the excellent table of your victory, replenished with all sorts of dainties. I have endeavoured, with the whole affection and desire of my mind, to recreate your fathers and brothers, kindred and relations, who daily frequent the table. For behold they sing, and with exultation and jubilee glorify God, who has crown'd your virtues, by setting on your most sacred heads incorruptible and celestial crowns; they with excessive joy stand about the sacred reliques of your martyrdoms, wishing for a blessing, and desiring to bear away holy medicines both for the body and the mind. As good disciples and faithful ministers of our benign Lord and Saviour, bestow therefore a blessing on them all: and on me also, tho weak and feeble, who having received strength by
your

your merits and intercessions, have with the whole devotion of my mind, sung a hymn to your praise and glory before your holy reliques. Wherefore I beseech you stand before the throne of the divine Majesty for me Ephræm, a vile and miserable sinner, that by your prayers I may deserve to obtain salvation, and with you enjoy eternal felicity by the grace and benignity and mercy of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom with the Father and Holy Ghost be praise, honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

By what has been cited out of *Basil*, the two *Gregories* and *Ephræm*, we may understand that Saint-worship was established among the Monks and their admirers in *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Syria* and *Cappadocia*, before the year 378, this being the year in which *Basil* and *Ephræm* died. *Chrysostom* was not much later; he preached at *Antioch* almost all the time of *Theodosius* the great, and in his Sermons are many exhortations to this sort of superstition, as may be seen in the end of his Orations on *S. Julia*, on *St. Pelagia*, on the Martyr *Ignatius*, on the *Egyptian* Martyrs, on *Fate* and *Providence*, on the Martyrs in general, on *St. Berenice* and *St. Prosdoce*, on *Juventinus* and *Maximus*, on the name of *Cœmetery*, &c. Thus in his Sermon on *Berenice* and *Prosdoce*:

Perhaps, saith he, you are inflamed with no small love towards these Martyrs; therefore with this ardour let us fall down before their reliques, let us embrace their coffins. For the coffins of the Martyrs have great virtue, even as the bones of the Martyrs have great power. Nor let us only on the day of this festival, but also on other days apply to them, invoke them, and beseech them to be our patrons: for they have great power and efficacy, not only whilst alive, but also after death; and much more after death than before. For now they bear the marks or brands of Christ; and when they shew these marks, they can obtain all things of the King. Seeing therefore they abound with such efficacy, and have so much friendship with him; we also, when by continual attendance and perpetual visitation of them we have insinuated ourselves into their familiarity, may by their assistance obtain the mercy of God.

Constantinople was free from these superstitions till Gregory Nazianzen came thither A. C. 379; but in a few years it was also inflamed with it. *Ruffinus* tells us, that when the Emperor *Theodosius* was setting out against the tyrant *Eugenius*, which was in the year 394, he went about with the Priests and people to all the places of prayer; lay prostrate in haircloth before the shrines of the Martyrs and Apostles, and pray'd

Hist. Eccl.
l. 2. c. 23.

pray'd for assistance by the intercession of the Saints. Sozomen adds, that when the Emperor L. 4. c. 24. was marched seven miles from Constantinople against Eugenius, he went into a Church which he had built to John the Baptist, and invoked the Baptist for his assistance. Chrysostom says: *He that is clothed in purple, approaches to embrace these sepulchres; and laying aside his dignity, stands supplicating the Saints to intercede for him with God: and he who goes crowned with a diadem, offers his prayers to the tent-maker and the fisher-man as his Protectors.* And in another place: *The cities run together to the sepulchres of the Martyrs, and the people are inflamed with the love of them.*

Hom. 66. ad
 populum,
 circa finem.
 & Hom.
 8, 27. in
 Matth.
 Hom. 42, 43.
 in Gen.
 Hom. 1. in
 1 Theff.

Exposit. in
 Psal. 114.
 sub finem.

This practice of sending reliques from place to place for working miracles, and thereby inflaming the devotion of the nations towards the dead Saints and their reliques, and setting up the religion of invoking their souls, lasted only till the middle of the reign of the Emperor Theodosius the great; for he then prohibited it by the following Edict. *Humatum corpus, nemo ad alterum locum transferat; nemo Martyrem distrahat, nemo mercetur: Habeant verò in potestate, si quolibet in loco sanctorum est aliquis conditus, pro ejus veneratione, quod Martyrium vocandum sit, addant quod voluerint fabricarum.* Dat. iv Kal. Mart. Constantinopoli, Honorio:

norio nob. puero & Euodio Coss. A. C. 386.

After this they filled the fields and high-ways with altars erected to Martyrs, which they pretended to discover by dreams and revelations: and this occasioned the making the fourteenth Canon of the fifth Council of Carthage, A. C. 398. *Item placuit, ut altaria, quæ passim per agros aut vias, tanquam memoriæ Martyrum constituuntur, in quibus nullum corpus aut reliquiæ Martyrum conditæ probantur, ab Episcopis, qui illis locis præsent, si fieri potest, evertantur. Si autem hoc propter tumultus populares non finitur, plebes tamen admoneantur, ne illa loca frequentent, ut qui rectè sapiunt, nullâ ibi superstitione devincti teneantur. Et omnino nulla memoria Martyrum probabiliter acceptetur, nisi aut ibi corpus aut aliquæ certæ reliquiæ sint, aut ubi origo alicujus habitationis, vel possessionis, vel passionis fidelissima origine traditur. Nam quæ per somnia, & per inanes quasi revelationes quorumlibet hominum ubique constituuntur altaria, omnimodè reprobentur.* These altars were for invoking the Saints or Martyrs buried or pretended to be buried under them. First they filled the Churches in all places with the reliques or pretended reliques of the Martyrs, for invoking them in the Churches; and then they filled the fields and high-ways with altars, for invoking them

them every where: and this new religion was set up by the Monks in all the *Greek Empire* before the expedition of the Emperor *Theodosius* against *Eugenius*, and I think before his above-mentioned Edict, A. C. 386.

The same religion of worshipping *Mabuzims* quickly spread into the *Western Empire* also: but *Daniel* in this Prophecy describes chiefly the things done among the nations comprehended in the body of his third Beast.

The end of the first Part.

P A R T

comprehended in the body of his third Beast. chiefly the things done among the nations also: but Daniel in this Prophecy describes times quickly tried into the Western Empire. The same religion of worshipping Mahomet his above-mentioned Edict, A. C. 386. Theodosius against Paganism, and I think before the Empire before the expedition of the Emperor was set up by the Monks in all the Greek them every where: and this new religion

Newton, Isaac,

Observations upon the prophecies of Daniel, and the apocalypse of St. John

Bd.: 1

London 1733

4 Exeg. 614-1/2

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